This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

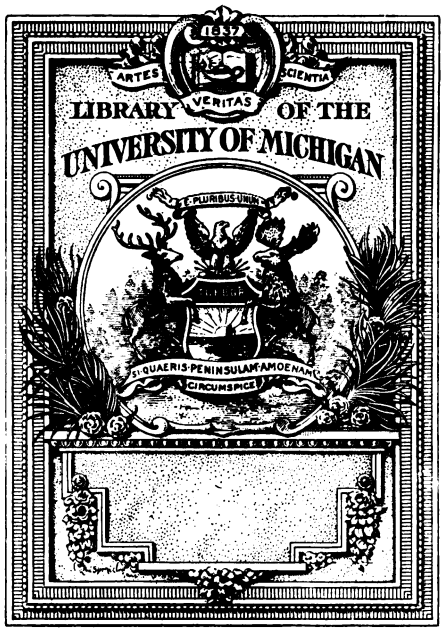
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

A 907,501

THE NORMAL LIFE

EDWARD T. DEVINE


1837
ARTES
VERITAS
SCIENTIA
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
E PLURIBUS UNUM
SI QUAERIS PENINSULAM AMOENAM
CIRCUMSPICE

BOOKS BY EDWARD T. DEVINE

ECONOMICS	$1.00
THE PRACTICE OF CHARITY	.60
PRINCIPLES OF RELIEF	2.00
EFFICIENCY AND RELIEF	.75
MISERY AND ITS CAUSES	1.25
Standard Library Edition	.50
SOCIAL FORCES	1.00
THE SPIRIT OF SOCIAL WORK	1.00
THE FAMILY AND SOCIAL WORK	.60
THE NORMAL LIFE	1.00

May be obtained through

SURVEY ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

105 EAST 22D STREET, NEW YORK

THE NORMAL LIFE

EDWARD T. DEVINE

SURVEY ASSOCIATES, INC.
NEW YORK
1915

COPYRIGHT, 1915, BY
EDWARD T. DEVINE

PRESS OF WM. F. FELL CO.
PHILADELPHIA

044/6 y.y.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
NOTE	2
INTRODUCTION	3
I. INFANCY	13
II. CHILDHOOD	43
III. YOUTH	75
IV. MATURITY: WORK	115
V. MATURITY: HOME	153
VI. LATE MATURITY AND OLD AGE	193
APPENDIX: SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS	223
INDEX	229

288588

NOTE

This volume contains the substance of a course of lectures delivered in Baltimore in February and March, 1915, under the auspices of THE SOCIAL SERVICE CORPORATION. The course is the first of a series planned for successive years on the general theme of SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION.

Except when obviously inappropriate, the direct form of address has been retained, as well as references to local conditions by way of illustration.

My colleague, Miss Brandt, has shared in the preparation of the lectures and of the volume for publication.

E. T. D.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The general theme of the series of lectures introduced by this course is Social Construction. I accept the faith which the phrase implies: the faith that we build the social structure; that it is not external or mechanical, but human, spiritual, influenced by our ideals, shaped by our actions. Pragmatist or meliorist, we who preach social construction must insist on the fruitfulness of human effort directed toward social betterment. We cannot be pessimists, wringing our hands because progress is impossible; nor yet optimists, with idle or mischievous hands because progress is inevitable. Our faith, rather, with that of William James, is that progress is possible, but not inevitable; that it is dependent upon our efforts. We are the architects and builders of our own well-being and that of our posterity.

For this introduction to the series it has seemed to me appropriate that we should attempt—not a brilliant presentment of existing evils (we know what they are) and not a thrilling appeal to you to do something about them (the need for that is past in this community), but rather a comprehensive

outline picture, a sober, unimpassioned, matter-of-fact interpretation of social plans and movements, from which we may see things in perspective, by means of which we may realize how little we have done as yet about some things, how few are the consecrated workers, how limited our vision, how inadequate our practical application of that admirable principle of coöperation so constantly on our lips, how provincial and fragmentary all our philanthropy, even the best of it, how unworthy to be called either charity or justice, if by those noble words we mean what our fathers meant, or what our sons will mean by those or better terms describing the better human relations which are to be.

There are several possible plans on which such a survey as this might be made. We might consider the duties of society with respect to the moral, the mental, and the physical needs of man. We might select the more pressing of our social problems (poverty, sickness, inefficiency, crime, irregular employment) and examine the remedies that have been advocated for them. Or we might study historically the forms of social work which have been devised by various peoples at different times, tracing their development, examining the principles on which they are based, and seeking to discover what lessons they have for us in the United States in the twentieth century.

Any of these plans would yield profitable results. I have chosen, however, another method of ap-

proach, hoping that we may get both unity and proportion into our study, and perhaps see some old problems in a new light, if we take for our background the normal individual life, and, following it through from beginning to end, try to determine what are the social conditions and social provisions which are essential at each stage to securing it.

On this plan we shall interest ourselves in the positive rather than the negative aspect of life, in normal development rather than pathological aberrations, in healthy participation in organized human activities rather than in waste, pauperism, criminality, and degeneracy. We shall never be very far from the abnormal and the subnormal, never quite free from the consciousness of that incessant warfare between beneficent germs and pathogenic germs of which the human body is the choicest battle field, and which has its analogy in spiritual struggle; never able to forget that a normal life is vouchsafed to any of us only as an ideal.

We shall never find ourselves in that home of the ideal, of which Bernard Shaw writes so eloquently,* where we escape the tyranny of the flesh; where there are no social questions, no political questions, no religious questions—best of all, perhaps, no sanitary questions; where we call our appearance beauty, our emotions love, our sentiments heroism, our aspirations virtue, just as we did on earth; but where there are no hard facts to contradict us,

* Man and Superman.

no ironic contrast of needs with pretensions, no human comedy, nothing but a perpetual romance. To be sure, the other name of this idyllic paradise is hell. It is a universal melodrama, a home of delusion; and we humans, if we analyze our deepest preferences, will not wish to be translated prematurely from this normal, incomplete, but developing life to one of universal melodrama and perpetual romance.

The normal life rather than abnormalities, prosperity rather than misery, health rather than disease, will furnish the framework of our discussion.

"The normal life of man" suggests a fairly definite picture, the same in its essentials however much it may vary as to details.

We think of a child born, without congenital defects, into a home where it has been lovingly expected and prepared for. We see it carefully, if not always scientifically, tended through its first delicate years, weathering various minor ailments and "children's diseases," though probably with one or more narrow escapes, learning its first lessons in self-control, getting its fundamental ideas of material things and of human relations—in short, entering into its "social heritage." Next comes a happy period made up of school and play and home life, some acquaintance with racial traditions of religion and morality, and more or less acquaintance, through travel and otherwise, with the outside world. We think of the family circle as including

the child's father and mother, one or two or three brothers and sisters, a grandmother, at least, to represent the older generation, and some uncles and aunts and cousins to form an intermediate link between the home and the mysterious world.

Childhood past,—whether at fourteen or sixteen or twelve or ten,—there follows a period of preparation for the responsibilities of manhood and womanhood, and this is the point where there will probably be the greatest varieties among our mental pictures of a normal life. To some it means a broad general education, followed by professional training, with a year or two in Europe and long summers of recreation, bringing the young woman to the age of twenty-three or four or five, and the young man to perhaps twenty-seven or eight. For others it represents a high school and normal course for the girl, and a high school course followed by induction into "business" or a skilled trade for the boy; for others still a brief and superficial commercial or industrial training at the end of grammar school. Even among those whose children go to work, at any kind of job they can get, as soon as the law allows, few would be found to defend the practice. A high school education or its equivalent, with some sort of vocational training,—agricultural, industrial, commercial, or professional,—is fast coming to be part of the American standard of living.

Arrived at maturity, equipped to earn a living and

to spend it, we picture the young man and woman marrying, surrounding their children with rather more comforts and advantages than they themselves had, giving them a longer period for education. We think of them as living to see their children established in homes of their own, and their grandchildren growing up; gradually relinquishing active duties to the younger generation, while keeping lively interests and a place of usefulness; their support provided either by savings or by their children's care, and at the end leaving the world,—reluctantly, to be sure, for it has been an agreeable place,—but with a sense of satisfaction, as at the close of a full day of work and wholesome pleasure and friendly intercourse.

There is no place in the picture for blind babies, feeble-minded girls, syphilitic young men, neglected orphans, child workers, ignorant and inefficient men and women, repulsive and lonely old people; there is no place for dependence on charity, for long disabling illness or accident, for prostitution, drunkenness, vice, or habitual crime, for neglect of children or other disregard of natural obligations, for premature age or early death.

These things all exist,—we are not in heaven,—and we all know that they exist,—we are not in hell,—but they do not occur to us, even to those of us who are most familiar with them, when we are thinking of the normal course of an individual's life from the cradle to the grave. They are abnormali-

ties. They are things which interfere with the realization by every individual of a normal life. They are obstacles that we shall have to reckon with in considering by what means the normal life, at each stage of the individual's development, may be assured.

I
INFANCY

THE BEGINNING OF LIFE

The normal life of man falls obviously into seven natural divisions: before birth, infancy, childhood, adolescence, early maturity, full maturity, and old age. It is the poet's number, but not precisely his boundaries, for we are concerned less with those external signs of man's development which Shakespeare mentions, such as his indigestion, his school books, his oaths, his sword, and his cane, and more with his essential functions and the peculiar problems which his progress through the course of life presents. And so we discover the child not in the nurse's arms, but at the moment of annunciation, when the young wife hears a welcome salutation:

> Hail, highly favored, blessed art thou among women. Fear not.

And she is ready to answer:

> Behold the handmaid of the Lord. Be it unto me according to thy word.

Every woman, in the sacred hour when she knows that she has become the lawful custodian of a new life, a life for whom all things on earth, aye and in heaven and in hell, are possible, may well feel, as Mary of Nazareth felt before her cousin Elizabeth,

a magnificent exaltation, not unmingled with deep humility. This child which is to be born, it may be in a cramped tenement, in the alley, in the almshouse, even in the stable, shall also be the son of the Most High.

> He hath regarded the low estate of his handmaiden . . . From henceforth all generations shall call me blessed. His mercy is for them that fear him from generation to generation. He hath put down the mighty from their seats and exalted them of low degree. He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts. He hath filled the hungry with good things: and the rich he hath sent empty away.

No one else is so sublimely sure of the truth of these strange sayings as the expectant mother. The hope of ultimate justice and good will among men rests upon the constantly repeated miracle of the creation of new lives. If the passing generation of men could to-day be conceived as locked in a life and death struggle with the forces of barbarism, without the reinforcements for which we are accustomed to look to the coming generation, who would dare be an optimist? Every mother has a right to feel that none can set bounds to the promise of her unborn child. The proud, the mighty, or the rich, who in their wealth, their might, and their pride think otherwise have to reckon with two things beyond their power, stronger

than their pride, not to be touched by their wealth: the unexplored potentialities of a new life, and the unbounded faith inherent in a mother's love.

To insure a fair start in life for the individual—a normal beginning of the normal life—reliance must be placed chiefly on the individual and the family. Society may, to a limited extent, by conscious effort, determine what kind of children shall be born, and what kind of care they shall receive after birth, but in the main the important services of society at this stage are indirect and advisory: the provision of such education as will make individuals lead clean and wholesome lives and act wisely, when the time comes, about marriage and parenthood; of such industrial and social conditions as will make it possible for women to bear healthy children without exhaustion; and of such assistance, chiefly in the way of advice, as will enable them to care intelligently for their babies after they are born. The selection of parents for the next generation is at present in America, and is likely to continue to be, left to individual choice; and the only satisfactory method that has yet been found for getting babies safely through the first year of life is the strictly individualistic plan of attention to each one by its own mother.

PARENTAGE

There are three distinct sets of problems involved in this one of a normal beginning of life, according

as they center about (1) parentage, (2) the period before birth, and (3) the life of the infant in the first year or two after birth.

Heredity is a fact of human life of which not merely the individual in his private relations, but the community in its broader social relations, must take account. Normally like tends to beget like. It is sound human policy to prevent the conception of human beings who are to be cursed from the very origin of life with an irremediable handicap. There is a blight on the blessing in the motherhood of an imbecile child. There is no inalienable right to be the father of tainted, diseased, degenerate offspring. As to the early steps in this particular policy of social construction, the evidence is all in. Modern science has demonstrated that no feeble-minded mother, no syphilitic mother, no alcoholic mother, and no mother of a child whose father is alcoholic, feeble-minded, or syphilitic, may expect to give birth to a normal child. We cannot say that it never occurs. In the old polytheistic days a human mother sometimes gave birth to a divinity, and there are about equal chances of a similar miracle in the bringing forth of health from degeneracy.

The first step then is clear. Those who are demonstrably unfit for parentage—the imbecile, the incurably insane, the epileptic, and those who suffer from such diseases as directly afflict offspring—should be firmly and consistently controlled. So far as defectives and incurables are

concerned, this should be done preferably in custodial institutions, humanely conducted colonies, where the capacities of the patients may be exercised for their own good and that of their companions; but if not in such institutions, then in some other way, by adequate home supervision when there are sufficient resources for it and sufficient guarantee that it will be exercised, by surgical operation in suitable cases, though conservatives on this subject would prefer that such operations should be performed, for the present, not as a result of specific legislation, but, like other medical and surgical treatment, only when the health of the patient also justifies it and then on the professional responsibility of the physician in charge.

To eliminate the ravages of the venereal diseases it is necessary that they be brought under public control by means of the program which has been tested with respect to other infectious diseases: compulsory notification to the Board of Health of all affected persons known to institutions and to private physicians; free laboratory assistance in making Wassermann tests and other aids to diagnosis; a very considerable increase in provision for treatment, both in hospitals and in clinics; popular education about the consequences of these diseases to wife—or husband—and child, about their long and insidious course, and the treatment essential to cure.

That unfit marriages should be prevented, and

also such illegitimate births as would be barred by the same standard, is the foundation-stone of social control. That is only the beginning, but perhaps it may be also the end, of compulsion in the regulation of marriages and births. For the state is but one among many agencies of social action. There are many things that can be done through the voluntary principle. The responsibility for wise mating, for improvement of the racial stock through judicious marriage, would better remain where it is for the present—on the parties to the marriage contract, their parents, their spiritual advisers, and their matchmaking friends. Education is needed; improved facilities in parks and parlors for legitimate courtship are needed; more rational standards of living, in which substantial values and genuine necessities receive more emphasis and artificial luxuries less; but all these things are to be secured through discussion, through the survival of sensible ideas, through the contagion of high ideals, rather than by any form of coercion. A social program does not necessarily mean a program of legislation.

If we build suitable institutions for the mentally defective, with enough room in them for all who cannot safely be left at large—not necessarily expensive institutions, but safe, clean, equipped with all appropriate means for providing employment, education, recreation, and considerate care; and if we provide adequately for the maintenance of

these institutions, we shall be doing our first large duty. Commitment to such institutions should be compulsory, if necessary, though there is advantage in having also institutions to which access is voluntary, and the guardianship should last as long as the condition lasts, that is, ordinarily, for life. The establishment and adequate maintenance and actual use of such colonies for the feeble-minded would actually eliminate enough prostitution, intemperance, pauperism, crime, and disease to pay for their cost probably many times over. But the financial argument is subordinate to the argument from social construction: it would cut out just so many weak spots in our social foundations; it would put an end to an appalling amount of actual misery, actual loss of life and property, actual failure, suffering, and disgrace.

Closely connected with this subject is the problem of illegitimacy. It is desirable that children shall be born in wedlock. The illegitimate child has less chance than others to be born alive; it has only about half the chances of living through its first year; and in other ways, too well known to need mention, it is handicapped from the outset. The point at which to prevent illegitimate births is in the home and at school, long before they would occur, by the development of the will of the strong and by the protection of the person of the weak. Guarding the mentally defective in the way we have just been considering would do more than any other

single measure, cutting out at once a very considerable proportion. Something in the way of deterrence can be accomplished by prosecution when the girl is under the age of consent, and by fastening responsibility for the child on its father, whether married or not; but these proceedings are effective only in so far as they have the sympathy of public opinion as represented by juries and courts. The repeal of all so-called bastardy laws and the substitution of a simple and humane process by which an unmarried mother may, without any such stigma on her unborn child, secure from its father the means of its support and of care in her own confinement, would be a very desirable reform. Something can be done, also, to influence the girl at this time and prevent a recurrence of her misfortune, and by far the greatest hope lies in conscious efforts to shield young girls and young men from extraordinary temptations.

So much the law and organized social work can do, but mainly the purification of parenthood, the social insurance of a wholesome birth, depends upon the individual. There is no adequate safeguard against unfit births except an early acquired ideal of preparation for parenthood: an ideal amounting to a passion, strong enough to keep the baser passions in subjection, to hold the strong young men to a purity of life, to a rational use and a normal development of all their youthful powers; an ideal of motherhood not too remote or too at-

tenuated to exercise a positive influence on the youthful maidens among all the new tendencies and temptations, the strong currents of opinion and emancipating waves of emotion to which they are subjected. Domestic ideals have rivals in our time. They must be exalted the more. We must educate toward them, whatever other ideals we are also ready to recognize.

ANTE-NATAL LIFE

After the child has begun its ante-natal life, of healthy parents, united under the sanction of society, the next stage is comparatively simple. The normal outcome is the birth of a living child; and so powerfully does nature work toward this end that a very moderate amount of attention is usually sufficient to insure it. The problem is further simplified by the fact that the welfare of the child at this stage depends on the welfare and intelligence of one individual—its mother—who, if our preliminary conditions have been met, is normal in mind and body and has the good of the child at heart.

At present, it is true, this ante-natal period appears to be the most dangerous period of life. English and French authorities have estimated that one out of five or six pregnancies end in abortion or miscarriage.* The proportion may not be

* The latest available English estimates, in the Forty-third Annual Report (1913–14) of the Medical Officer of the

so large in this country, but there can be no doubt that the waste of life in this way is enormous. In addition, there are the children born dead, though at full term, which probably occurs in at least one case out of twenty.* We should consider in this connection also the large number of deaths in the first month of infancy which are attributable to congenital debility, prematurity, convulsions, malformations, and injuries at birth. The infant death-rate from congenital causes has been practically unaffected by the measures which have been so extraordinarily successful in cutting down the infant death-rate as a whole in many cities in the last few years, and sanitarians are agreed in urging extensive and thorough provision for ante-natal instruction as the most important measure to be taken if it is hoped to effect any considerable further reduction in infant mortality.

A large part of this loss of life before birth, or immediately after, is sheer flagrant waste, which would be avoided if the most elementary social policies were in force. Statistical statements on these points must be made guardedly, but the

Local Government Board (page xxviii), are somewhat lower: a total ante-natal mortality, including still-births, of one hundred and fifty per one thousand births, one-half of which may be ascribed to syphilis. This estimate still makes the ante-natal mortality much higher than the total mortality in the first year after birth.

* This is about the proportion of still-births in New York City at the present time, but it is probable that many still-births are not yet reported.

elimination of intemperance, of the physical disease of syphilis, and the social fact of illegitimacy would certainly eliminate over half the miscarriages, still-births, and abortions, natural and criminal, that occur. For the rest, and for the early deaths after birth, what is mainly needed is such a family budget and such conditions in the home as will give the mother a moderate degree of comfort and reasonable freedom from anxiety and overwork; such provision of advice and instruction for her, adapted to her understanding, as will save the embryonic human being from actual violence through her ignorance or carelessness, and bring it to birth in the best possible condition; and such competent attendance at birth as will do away absolutely with all avoidable injuries to mother or child.

It is astounding how very moderate are the needs of the mother at this time, and how great the return for a slight investment in her comfort. Five hundred French babies whose mothers spent ten days or more in a pre-maternity home before confinement were found to weigh twelve per cent more, which means that in other ways also they were considerably better equipped for life, than five hundred whose mothers, otherwise in much the same circumstances, worked up to the day of confinement. The study recently published by the Children's Bureau shows that in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, the infant mortality rate in the poorest families was three times as great as in the families in com-

fortable circumstances where the father's annual earnings amounted to $1200 or more. It is exceedingly important that there should not be overwork of any kind (or over-fatigue through social functions or pleasures) at any time during this critical period, and that toward its end there should be a considerable lightening of tasks and responsibility; but, on the other hand, it is not necessary, or even desirable, that the mother should spend the nine months in idleness. Occupations suited to her strength are an advantage.

The definite instruction of prospective mothers is a social service and a social duty of the first order of importance. There is perhaps no other form of social work which yields larger returns on the modest investment required. It is a service needed by the comfortably well-to-do as by the poor. It can be rendered by a qualified private physician or an experienced mother as well as by a nurse from the Department of Health, but when instruction from natural private sources is lacking, then it should be provided at public expense. Encouraging beginnings have been made by governmental agencies and private organizations in various places, and the results which are everywhere apparent after only a brief trial leave no doubt as to the desirability of greatly extending such service.

The Federal Children's Bureau made the preparation of an authoritative pamphlet on Pre-natal

Care* one of the first claims on the very moderate resources of its first year's appropriation, and this has proved to be one of the popular publications of the government. It is deservedly so, for it is written by a competent mother, simply, clearly, and scientifically, explaining everything in such a way as to inspire confidence in the advice given and to dissipate unnecessary alarms and fears. For the normal American woman who can read and understand simple English and follow simple instructions nothing could be better.

There are many mothers, however, who, unfortunately, can not profit by such instruction as this. For them an organized clinic service, of physicians and of nurses with special aptitude and qualifications, is needed in the cities and towns. In rural districts this work can probably best be done through a district-nursing system. The Budin Foundation in Paris is a classic example of this kind of service, but the New Zealand Society for the Health of Women and Children bids fair to become the best known in America, through the publication, recently, by the Children's Bureau of an account of its methods. The instruction and supervision given by such organizations are not confined to the ante-natal period; their ante-natal work, in fact, is usually an extension backward from milk-stations and visitation of new-born

* By Mrs. Max West.

babies, as the necessity of beginning earlier becomes apparent.

The New Zealand Society is a private organization, supervised and subsidized by the government. In the five years after it was organized the infant mortality of the city of Dunedin, where it has its headquarters, a residential city of about sixty thousand inhabitants, was exactly cut in two, and brought to a point considerably lower than that of New Zealand in general, though at the beginning of the period it was already lower than in any American city for which we have credible data. In New York City, among the three thousand mothers supervised by the Milk Committee and by the Department of Health in the first year after it took over the pre-natal work of the Committee, the percentage of still-births and of premature births was considerably less than the average for the city, only about half as many babies died during their first month and only four mothers in all, and over ninety per cent of the babies were still being fed entirely from the breast at the end of their first month.

BIRTH

Ante-natal care involves, as we have seen, clinics and home visiting. It involves also hospital accommodation for complicated cases of pregnancy, and advance supervision of preparations for confinement, whether under the care of physicians or midwives. The training of midwives and official

recognition of their calling seem to be a present necessity, if not a permanent policy. Ante-natal care incidentally gives an opportunity for personal contact between capable nurses and midwives which should help to increase the efficiency and raise the standards of the practice of midwifery. Related to this is the diminution which may be expected in the number of cases of ophthalmia neonatorum by instructing mothers to insist that the effective silver drops shall be applied to the eyes immediately after birth; for while it is a reproach to our sanitary standards that this precaution should be necessary, nevertheless it is necessary, and will be necessary until the infectious disease which is responsible for a large part of congenital blindness has become as rare as small-pox, instead of being, as at present, more prevalent than measles. Mainly, however, and inclusive of all the other anticipated results of ante-natal instruction and supervision, is the production of healthier and stronger children and a reduction of the general infant mortality and morbidity.

At the time of birth the minimum requirement is skilled and prompt attendance in normal confinement at home, and prompt and adequate hospital care when there are conditions involving special danger to mother or child, unless the home conditions are exceptionally favorable for constant medical and nursing oversight.

Even for the normal labor of mothers in com-

fortable economic circumstances the use of the maternity hospital grows apace, for the reason given by Sir Thomas More some centuries ago as to why hospitals were used in his Utopia, simply that they were more comfortable places in which to be sick.

The registration of every birth is an essential feature of our social program, but one which we have been exceedingly remiss in recognizing. For lack of an accurate record of births we can only guess about such vital questions as the natural increase of population and the rate of infant mortality in most of our cities and states and in the United States as a whole. Child-labor laws, and other legislation involving proof of age or nativity, are creating and increasing popular appreciation of the usefulness of this piece of red tape, as it has probably been regarded by the average native American. In many cities documentary evidence of age is required both to get into school and to get out, if release is desired as early as possible. Birth certificates are frequently needed to establish a right to inheritance or to American citizenship. Of even greater importance to the individual, however, though he may not so readily see it, is the basis an accurate registration of births gives to the sanitarian for studying the fluctuations of infant mortality, that "sensitive index . . . of social welfare and of sanitary administration,"* and the starting-point it furnishes for the operation of a

* Newsholme.

systematic supervision of babies. The Census Bureau is working away at this problem, as it is at the registration of deaths. It must be solved chiefly, however, by the local boards of health. There is no reason why every city in the country should not have, within half a dozen years, if it wants it, a record of births that is practically complete. Recent tests in New York indicate that ninety-eight or ninety-nine per cent are now properly reported in that city, and if that is possible in New York, with its unparalleled difficulties of varieties in custom and language, it is possible anywhere in the country. By acknowledgment of the receipt of certificates, by mailing copies to the parents, by occasional checking-up canvasses of selected blocks and enforcement of penalties against persons found to have been neglectful, an intelligent and resourceful Board of Health can successfully establish the coöperation of physicians, midwives, and parents.

INFANCY

We may now assume that the child whose career we are following is properly registered and launched into infancy. The fundamental problem in this stage is to keep the delicate things alive. The mere business of being a baby, it has been said, ought to be classed as an extra-hazardous occupation. It is far more hazardous than it need be, but, on the other hand, it is far less hazardous than

it was a few years ago, in certain places where attention has been given to removing some of the more obvious dangers. Wherever experiments have been intelligently tried, the results, as in the case of ante-natal care, have been almost theatrical.

Reference has been made to the New Zealand city where, in five years, an infant mortality rate which we would be tempted to consider low was actually cut down to half what it had been. Our largest American city can show an improvement almost as encouraging, considering its much less favorable general conditions. There are actually fewer babies dying now every year in New York City than there were in 1870, when the population was only about a third what it is now. Ten years ago in New York City fifteen out of every hundred babies born alive died before they were a year old.* At present this figure has been reduced to less than ten. That means that ninety of every hundred babies now being born may expect to live through their first year, instead of only eighty-five. It means also, what is equally or more important, that these ninety reach their first birthday anniversary in much better condition than the eighty-five ten years ago, and are much more likely to live through their second and third and fourth and succeeding

* The figure was one hundred and fifty-three per one thousand births for the decade 1896–1905 for Manhattan and Bronx, assuming that ninety per cent of the births were registered at that time; in 1914, when the registration of births was almost complete, the rate was ninety-eight.

years, and not merely to "live through" them, but to "live" them in full health and vigor. It will be harder to save the ninety-first baby, and the ninety-second, ninety-third, ninety-fourth, and ninety-fifth, as they have already done in the far-away little city in the southern seas, but it can probably be done.

The saving which has been effected in New York and other large cities, in Europe as well as in America, has been largely among babies over a month old, and it has been brought about almost entirely by attention to what the sanitarians call "hygienic and dietetic errors." The combined efforts of private philanthropy and the Department of Health, through milk stations and other educational work, have succeeded in materially reducing the prevalence of diarrheal diseases, and incidentally, by improved nutrition, increasing the child's resistance to pneumonia and other infectious diseases. This has been done by encouraging mothers to nurse their babies, teaching them how to meet their simple but imperative needs of pure air and clean and suitable food with the resources at their command, supplementing these resources when necessary, and furnishing expert counsel in emergencies. Improvement in the milk supply and in the water supply and in housing conditions and the general standard of living have also undoubtedly been factors, operating less directly and over a longer period, but still of fundamental importance.

By these means fatalities from acute gastro-intestinal diseases have been extraordinarily, and those due to respiratory diseases appreciably, reduced, and the way has been made clear for further reduction.

By these means also the gravity of the causes operating at or before birth to produce death in the first month of life has been brought into light; for the mortality from congenital diseases has remained practically stationary, while the improvement in the other important groups has been going on, until they have ousted diarrheal diseases from the unenviable first place among the causes of infant deaths, and are responsible for forty per cent of the total number. Even here, however, though some of the causes remain obscure, we are already in position to do as much as has been done with respect to the infectious diseases of the digestive organs. A large proportion of these deaths in the first days of infancy are due to lack of adequate care before or at birth or immediately after, and to ante-natal infection, and they can be avoided by providing the proper care, and by preventing the infection in such ways as we have indicated.

It is desirable that the mother should not be overburdened by physical or mental tasks in the months preceding the child's birth, but a blanket injunction against wage-earning would not yet be warranted, because it seems to be difficult to determine just what forms of employment are injurious and at

what point the injury begins. That a woman should not be employed in a steam laundry or an ordinary factory, or in any other occupation making similar demands on her strength, in the weeks immediately before confinement is generally agreed, and legislation to this effect should be extended, even though there is probably no considerable number of American women in danger of subjecting themselves to such risks. It is in the first year of the child's life, however, rather than before its birth, that the problem of the wage-earning mother is the most serious. John Burns once referred, in his picturesque way, to countries "where industries flourish, where mothers labour, and where babies decay"; and it is not an accident that textile workers in England show an infant mortality rate exceeded only by that among miners and unskilled laborers,* nor that Fall River and Lowell, New London and Willimantic have much higher rates than New York and Boston. Any work—professional, industrial, or unclassified—which interferes with the nursing of the child by its mother, either because it exhausts her power or because it keeps her away from home, is condemned from the point of view of the child's welfare. Day nurseries attached to factories in which the work is not arduous and the sanitary conditions are good might be a genuine advantage to mother, child, and em-

* Forty-third Annual Report of the Local Government Board, p. xxix.

ployer. Day nurseries which receive babies a week or ten days old at seven o'clock in the morning and hand them back to their mothers at seven o'clock at night may well consider whether they are not blindly working against the very thing they have most at heart—the child's welfare.

Employment of the mother is only one of the factors in home life which has an influence on the survival and the health of babies. All the adverse conditions which go to make up a low standard of living are unfavorable to health at any age, and they are most unfavorable in the delicate and sensitive stage of infancy. In any of our cities it is the poorest and most crowded districts in which the babies die fastest—unless it happens, as in New York, that there is some complicating factor, like race, to interfere. It is not possible to pick out the various elements in a low standard of living and determine just what effect each one has on infant mortality,—or on any other social problem,—but the general connection is undeniable. Ignorance and dirt, the baby's worst enemies, are the natural accompaniments of poverty. The Children's Bureau found in Johnstown that the infant mortality was five times as great in the poorest ward as in the section containing the homes of the well-to-do; that, in general, it fell as the earnings of husbands rose and the proportion of wage-earning wives declined; that it was considerably lower in dry, clean homes containing a bath-tub, than in damp, dirty

homes with no water-supply in the house; that of the babies who slept at night in a well-ventilated room (nearly half of them did, by the way) only one died in proportion to every six whose mothers carefully kept the windows shut tight; that babies had a better chance to live if their mothers could read some language and could speak English and had been in the United States more than five years —not so much because of the direct and intrinsic advantage to the individual baby of a literate mother who has had the privilege of residence in this country, as because these items, like the bath-tub, happened to be in Johnstown convenient indexes to the general economic status of the home.

The welfare of the baby, we have tried to emphasize, depends primarily upon its home, and within the home primarily on its mother, but we must not entirely overlook the contribution of the government, especially the municipal government, toward making the home what it should be and giving the mother an opportunity to meet her obligations. Home conditions depend more and more, in our cities, upon general sanitary conditions, which the most intelligent and best-intentioned father of a family can affect only slightly. A minimum standard of housing, with respect to safety, decency, water-supply, and ventilation; an adequate drainage system for all parts of the city; an abundant supply of pure water for drinking and household purposes; an efficient street-

cleaning service; supervision of the milk supply; maintenance of small parks at frequent intervals—these are some of the main features of municipal housekeeping which are prerequisite to family housekeeping of a kind favorable to babies. The local Department of Health has its special responsibility for infectious diseases and the opportunity, if taxpayers will furnish the funds, to extend its supervisory and educational work for mothers and children.

Still another element in the saving of babies and the improvement of the physical basis of the individual's life is further advance in medical knowledge of children's diseases and of their causation. All social measures and all individual measures to this end must rest on the teachings of science, and it is the skill and insight of the individual physician that determine again and again whether a particular baby shall live or die. Higher standards of general medical education, the including in the general curriculum of a larger amount of specialized instruction in the diseases of infancy (all groups of medical specialists urge this in regard to their specialities, and rightly) and encouragement of advanced study in this difficult and elusive field, are technical and scientific problems of general social interest.

Our normal child spends its infancy at home. It does not begin life motherless or fatherless, nor does its mother leave it on a door-step or in the

turning cradle of a hospitable institution on her first day out of the maternity ward. Motherless and fatherless babies are not a part of our normal scheme, and there will be fewer and fewer individuals thus handicapped at the outset of life as sound social policies become effective. There may always be a few orphans, but under normal conditions they will be individual problems,—for aunts and grandmothers and older sisters, mainly,—not social problems for the city department of charities. Provision for foundlings, like the routine administering of silver nitrate at birth, is a present necessity on account of the existence of abnormal conditions, which we must use every effort to eliminate. As long as it is a necessity, however, we must see that it is done in such a way as to mitigate the handicap of the individual child. There is no reason why the infant mortality rate of foundlings should be one hundred per cent, as it is in some institutions. There seems to be an immense advantage for the baby, and consequently for the state, in small, simple, inexpensive cottages, each in charge of a nurse. There are still greater advantages in persuading unmarried mothers not to relinquish their babies, and in finding them positions where they can work out their own rehabilitation.

THE BIRTH-RATE

We can hardly leave this review of the social problems surrounding the beginnings of the in-

dividual life without taking into consideration the phenomenon of the declining birth-rate.

Whether it is an individual duty to marry and beget children; whether it is a social duty to modify our marriage and courtship traditions so that all of either sex who have the power of fecundity and the desire for children shall have a better opportunity to have them; whether in the married state the practice of race suicide is an ominous danger; whether it is unfortunate for the race that, generally speaking, an economic line separates the families that have automobiles from those that have perambulators—these are perplexing questions. Some are no doubt accused of race suicide who are really only punished by the sterility of a present or a past disease. Some shrink from parenthood because of a false standard of living which, before middle life is past, they may bitterly repent. But, generally speaking again, the heart of man still responds healthily to the words of the Psalmist:

> Lo, children are a heritage of the Lord and the fruit of the womb is his reward. As arrows are in the hand of a mighty man, so are children of the youth. Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them.

Still, as in primeval times, the normal man longs to see his children's children. That means an overlapping of the generations which is for the good of all. Just how many children there should be in a "full" quiver is another question. In the good old

colonial days families of eight or ten or twelve were common; and the New England and Virginia churchyards are full of graves of babies and of women worn out by motherhood before they had reached forty. Dr. Alice Hamilton found in Chicago, a few years ago, in a study of fifteen hundred families, that the infant death-rate in the large families (of six children or more) was two and a half times as high as it was in the families of moderate size (four children or less) in similar economic circumstances. The recent Johnstown study bears the same testimony; and Sir Arthur Newsholme, in the report already quoted, presents an interesting table of "fertility rates" and infant mortality rates for the principal economic classes of England and Wales, which shows that a high fertility rate is accompanied by a high mortality, and vice versâ, except among the textile workers, where relatively few babies are born and a large proportion die.

There are problems both of race suicide and of overpopulation. It is not desirable that the families of successful achievement should die out; nor is it desirable that the human race should be perpetuated in the wasteful fashion of fishes and the lower animals. The solution of the problem of race suicide lies in such educational propaganda as we have seen in our generation; in the exaltation of simpler, healthier ideals; in controlling the diseases which produce sterility; in economic readjustment of the sexes, following the gradual

emancipation of woman from antiquated restrictions. There is no need of organized agitation to prevent an excessive birth-rate. Economic forces are quite as effective in this direction as the welfare of society demands. Private property, family responsibility, educational standards, the adoption by immigrants of the standard of living of their neighbors, and other institutional checks, seem likely to keep population well within the means of subsistence, even within the boundaries of a normal life. The present obstacles to the enjoyment of a normal life which primarily concern us are far within the boundaries of that ultimate pressure of population which justly gave concern to our ancestors and may, under new conditions, again perplex future generations.

II
CHILDHOOD

Babies are chiefly concerned, if we may imagine them as visualizing their own social problem, in remaining alive. The stupendous responsibility for getting safely born and getting a start in life precludes much serious attention to the matters which are to vex them, and us, at a later stage.

Between infancy and adolescence, however, there lie a dozen years or so which may be called the crucial period in social construction. Childhood is, above all, for education, as infancy is for physical well-being. The problems of physical well-being indeed persist, but if those of infancy have been met, they are of constantly diminishing seriousness and difficulty. If the child is strong and well at the end of the first year, the nurse may give first place thenceforth to the teacher. The family must still protect, of course, but it becomes from the child's standpoint every day less a shell and more an atmosphere; relatively less a mere guarantee of existence and relatively more an aid to growth, a training for independent existence; less a nursery and more a seminary; less a trysting-place of the parents alone and more also a "trysting-place of the generations."

Without dwelling upon the transition from in-

fancy to childhood, we may proceed directly to a recognition of the large fact that the social problems of childhood and adolescence cluster largely around the school, as those of infancy center in the mother, and those of mature life in industry. The home belongs to no one period. Throughout the normal life of man the home is its natural background—its essential expression. No one period of life monopolizes it. If the home exists in one sense primarily for the sake of infancy and childhood, it is equally true that without it maturity and old age would be meaningless and incomplete.

Not, therefore, to minimize the home, but to characterize the particular problems in social construction which spring from the needs of childhood, we place the school for the time being in the foreground.

When we pass from infancy to childhood, from the home to the school, we cross the boundary into a province in which the responsibility of society is enormously increased. Whether a baby lives or dies depends, after all, under normal conditions, mainly on the baby itself and its mother; and, as we have seen, remaining alive at that stage is the main thing. Whether the child receives an education, however; whether its health is conserved; whether it is guided into an appropriate vocation, and has a reasonable chance for play and for helpful associations—depend more upon society than upon the narrower family circle. The baby is the

home's treasure, but the child belongs to society from a very early age, and the walls of the most protected family are but a frail barrier against the hundreds of social contacts which mold and influence the child life.

THE SOCIAL TASK OF EDUCATION

Education may be taken as a very broad term for the entire conscious process of passing on from one generation to another the accumulated treasures, the acquired capacities, of the race. So conceived, it touches every age, but childhood is its special province—the period marked by nature as peculiarly adapted to this process.

If, as Professor Thompson says,* unlike the beasts that perish, man has a social heritage, handed on from one generation to another, so that we are not dependent upon our biological inheritance alone, it is to childhood that this debt is paid, by the children that the new credit is acquired in trust for the years ahead, in which they are to be the living link between the past with its achievements, and the future with its possibilities. If therefore the social structure is to be sound and suitable, childhood must have its chance, must have time enough to perform its function, must not be cheated of its debt, expected to yield a harvest of figs from a sowing of thistles.

If we analyze this social task of education from

* Heredity.

our present point of view, one part of it undoubtedly consists in the mere preservation of actual information. We need not concern ourselves very much about that. The printing-press has solved it. True, there is information which can be preserved and imparted only in other ways, for example, through art. Paintings, sculpture, architecture, music, all tell their own story in a way that descriptions of them, even critical studies of them, do not. The hand which can conceive and execute works of art, and the eye which can see and appreciate them, are essential to the preservation of our social heritage. Actual and valuable information perishes from the world if as an incident of warfare works of art are destroyed, or if, through the failure of education, we cease to know their value. Arts of skill might disappear in the same way. But, speaking largely, the next generation is not in serious danger of a dearth of information. Newspapers deluge us with it, books record and elaborate and refine upon it. Research adds to it enormously. Every process of industry turns it out as a by-product. Government is engaged to a great extent in facilitating its distribution and increasing its amount. Schools have been organized to impart it. We shall not run short of information.

A second task of education in a policy of social construction is to teach the use of the mind and body. It is of little avail to have a body unless one knows how to use it. Most of us misuse and fail

to use our eyes, our ears, our hands, our backs, our tongues and teeth, our lungs and diaphragms, our legs, our skin. For a million years or so, no doubt, we traveled on all fours, as babies still do, and now nature fails us sometimes when we try to stand upright. For a million years or so salvation on earth depended on ability to distinguish friend from foe at a great distance. Now, when the objects of our interest and solicitude are nearly always at eighteen inches from the eye instead of a mile, we find ourselves handicapped by an optical instrument fitted for the distant but not for the near vision. We subject ourselves to eye-strain, and have headaches, curved spines, and ill temper in consequence.

No other mechanism in the world, we are often assured, is so continuously and flagrantly abused—from ignorance, from obstinacy, from carelessness, from parasitic enemies, from indulgence of its own eccentricities—as the human body. Education for efficiency implies instruction as to these elementary things: not anatomy and physiology, though those are useful; but cleanliness, respect for bodily functions, coördination of muscles, repose of nerves. Hygiene in all its branches is the first element in social education.

But the mind also is useless save as we have learned how to use it. To impart information is no more to give the mastery of the mind than to impart food is to give the mastery of the body. Certain drills are necessary to make the mind rapid

and accurate. Certain processes are necessary to develop observation and the critical faculty. Other exercises are useful in cultivating the memory and the imagination. But, above all, in a policy of social construction, the educational system must be successful in planting, watering, and securing increase in the power of forming economic judgments, in the power of estimating values as higher and lower, of comparing rightly future pleasures with those of the present, the permanent with the fleeting, the spiritual with the material. Right reasoning about what can be attained by a given effort, and what the satisfaction thus attained is really worth, as compared with other possible results from the same effort—this, I take it, is a prime function of social education.

One other obvious end of education may be named along with the imparting of information and the development of capacity to use the mind and the body. That is the forming of good physical, mental, and moral habits. The economic reasoning just now referred to is a conscious and sometimes a slow and painful process. But after a while, if the processes of our reasoning are sound, a particular judgment has been formed so clearly, or so often, or is so buttressed by authority, that it is accepted as a moral judgment. It obtains an ethical sanction. The conscious reasoning process is no longer necessary. Time is saved. Effort is saved. Wear and tear of tissue and vital energy

are saved. No doubt honesty was once the best policy. There may be borderlands where it is so still. But for us and our children honesty has ceased to be a policy. It is an instinct, a habit of mind, an economic judgment so often made, so clearly established, so authoritatively attested, that it offends rather than helps us to allude to its material advantages. The farther we can go in this direction of economizing the reasoning process, the more instinctive and immediate right courses of conduct can become, the more we shall be able to extend our field of operations, the more complete will be our conquest of nature, and the more productive will be the actual expenditure of energy in satisfying the higher and more complex wants.

This restatement of the elementary aims of education may seem to specialists in the theory of education so obvious as to be trite, or so incomplete as to be fantastic. The school system to the social economist is an instrument like any other of social construction. Education conceived as the means of carrying civilization forward, as the conscious link between the generations of workers and users of wealth, must do at least these things: Pass on the information; make the mind and body fit instruments of satisfying the wants of man; encourage those habits and instincts which economize power and promote the social welfare. Put in terms of social problems, the school must aid in preventing poverty by making men more efficient; in prevent-

ing disease by making men strong and well; in preventing crime by making men law-abiding in spirit and instinctively aware of the rights of others; in preventing violence by inoculating against self-righteousness and brutality.

Childhood is the time of life in which the school has its great chance. Education, we cannot too often repeat, does not end then. Education, like industry and art and religion and friendly intercourse, is really one of the permanent and serious interests of life, constantly going on under changing forms, until the life of the spirit, whether gradually or suddenly, is lost to our ken. But in childhood there is hardly any rival interest; for play and occupation, art and religion, home life and school life, are in childhood all a part of education. The school, although not exhausting its content, is the institutional embodiment of this idea of education.

PHYSICAL WELL-BEING

Coming more directly to some of the social problems of childhood centering in the school, it is necessary to discover and remedy the physical defects of children. Some of these are due to neglect of the pre-natal, natal, or post-natal problems of infancy, to overworked and undernourished parents, or to ignorance of the conditions essential to a right start for children. Others may not show themselves, or may not be remediable, until earlier infancy is past. Medical inspection of school chil-

dren to discover and correct such defects is becoming so common that any school system which does not provide for it is recognized as antiquated.

Many schools, I regret to say, are antiquated. Our standards, our common notions of what is the right and reasonable thing, move much faster than our practice, which is dependent on appropriations and administrative details and unlucky accidents and the slow process of bringing large numbers of people to understand what is to be done precisely and how precisely to do it.

Among the common features of medical school inspection and treatment of defects are the removal of adenoids and, when necessary, of tonsils; the correction of astigmatism by carefully fitted glasses —not such as can be picked up cheaply from a ten-cent counter or a peddler's pack, but such as are found by a competent refractionist to be required; the correction of spinal curvature—by a desk adjustment when that is sufficient, by a mechanical appliance when necessary—and orthopedic correction and treatment of other crippling disabilities; the cleaning of scalps; the isolation of infectious skin and eye diseases and proper treatment of the victims; the feeding of undernourished children; and the exposure of all to fresh air, but especially open-air classes for those who are anemic and susceptible and so easily poisoned by foul air. Equally justified with such medical inspection is instruction in sex hygiene, very generally and very

delicately in the schools, very explicitly and very drastically when that is necessary in the home or the doctor's office. The prevention of venereal disease, prostitution, and their consequences in society rests upon the foundation-stone of instruction in childhood. The instruction which provides such a foundation is not instruction in sex pathology or in the ways of vice. The instruction appropriate to childhood and potent to make or keep the coming generation secure is instruction in hygiene, which is health, in the ways of health and life, in the wholesome and serene enjoyment which comes from industry, self-restraint, and a social conscience.

ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY

The discovery and cure of physical defects and a hygienic culture and discipline have characterized the progress of education in the past decades. The next is to see the transformation of the curriculum in the direction of elasticity, with more recognition of actual existing conditions. A more complete linking of the schools to the future working life of the children is one of the most imperative tasks of the teacher at the present moment. This is to be done not for the sake of industry but for the sake of education; not cheap but valuable labor is its end. It is no business of the schools to furnish cheap and skilful hands for the mills if this means that they are to be exploited by employers. But

the children are, after all, to grow up to be workers: professional, commercial, industrial, agricultural workers. Their school should from the beginning aim to make them efficient and skilful workers. This is not to say that specialization for a life career should begin in the kindergarten. Trade schools and vocational guidance are not for childhood, but for adolescence. A definite relation between the school and the future active life of the child, however, long antedates the trade school. Useful work and rational enjoyment of life are from the beginning the ends in view. Both at long range, which is culture, and at shorter range, which is training, the schools must have the occupations of the community—of the nation and the world also, but more especially of the community—in their mind's eye. Peripatetic teachers in the home kitchens, perhaps helping to transform the kitchens in a little while to coöperative enterprises, may, for example, be one of the next innovations.

The cultural or disciplinary processes in the schools are not to be undervalued. It is the whole of the accumulated results of civilization that we are to pass on: its noble pleasures, its visions and ideals. But these things cannot stand alone. They can no longer stand on slavery or serfdom or an unmitigated wage system. They must stand on democracy, political and industrial. The workers must come into possession of them, and to this end they must become coöperative capitalists.

A socialist congressman-elect has recently quoted Lasalle's saying that the proletarian workers and the intellectuals must unite, and has quoted it to disagree, saying that the workers must themselves become intellectual. The workers of the future must be efficient, not under compulsion, but under leadership and direction. They must be able to use their minds no less than their bodies, and neither minds nor bodies in mutilated fragments.

CIVIC NURTURE

Hygienic training for health, then, and economic education for efficiency, are the first two planks in a policy of social education. The third is civic culture, training in self-government and aid in appreciating the nature of social relations—social obligations, social rights and duties—the social life in its entirety. This is no more the function of so-called civics courses, dealing with the framework of political government as it happens to exist in a particular community, than of those dealing with other subjects, such as history, literature, and biology. It is a by-product, like ethics, of which it is a part, of nearly all good teaching. If the new conception of government as a democratic coöperative enterprise can be planted in the mind, this will help, but society does not consist merely of its courts and legislatures. Failure to recognize this has seemed to me the great weakness of those Junior Republics in which the whole life centers

around the sheriff and the judge. The school must recognize that many a voluntary agency, like a trade union, a savings bank, a chamber of commerce, a church or synagogue—the family at one extreme and the human brotherhood at the other—all express social relations, and that any one of them, at a given moment, under particular circumstances, may have greater significance for the individual than the state itself. To be a good citizen is essential. One cannot put it more strongly. But to be a good neighbor, to be a creditor in the community and not a social debtor, to live a full life in all appropriate social relations, is an even higher and more inspiring ideal.

This social ideal has in it a dynamic element. The school which fits into a sound scheme of social construction is not to pass on a civilization perfected and unchanged. It is no slavish instrument of things as they are. It assumes a progressive social order and seeks to implant a divine discontent, an evolutionary spirit, a germ of that love of liberty and opportunity which has so often destroyed the old and outworn to make place for the new. It is conservative only of what continuously stands the acid test of present needs and forward-looking plans.

ELEMENTARY CONDITIONS OF SOCIAL EDUCATION

The features, then, of social education are civic or social nurture, economic efficiency, and physical

well-being. Consider some of the very elementary corollaries.

First there must be room for all the children; and the seats must be where the children are. There should not be seventy thousand children in Texas who have no chance to go to school, nor forty thousand in New York City on half-time, while there are fifty thousand more seats in all the school-houses of the city than there are children to be provided for. A prerequisite for this is such a collection of population statistics and interpretation of them as will rightly forecast the location of buildings to meet future needs, and such liberality of expenditure as will actually meet them. A permanent census or registration of all the population, corrected to date by recording all removals, as well as births and deaths, would be the most satisfactory and economical method of securing such data. All such calculations will be more easily made and more nearly correct after every city has its definite plan, its particular zones for business, for manufacturing, and for residences of different kinds.

In the commodious and well-placed school-buildings there must be an abundance of fresh air. In this climate some of them might be built without glass in the windows, like open sleeping porches. The rosy cheeks of healthy children would be their ornament, and joy and zest in work the guarantee stamp of their quality.

The next essential is a course of study, organized, as the New York Committee on School Inquiry puts it,* around human problems, and made simple and elastic enough to permit of differentiation to meet the needs of different nationalities and groups.

The next is a corps of trained and competent teachers, capable of carrying such a simple and elastic curriculum, of differentiating and adapting it, of criticizing and overhauling it when necessary, of keeping it alive and elastic and discovering from time to time those human problems around which the curriculum is to be organized. Politics has no legitimate place in this selection of teachers, of course. Security of tenure and the easy elimination of demonstrably unfit are of equal importance. Whether the teachers are women or men, adequate pay to justify professional preparation and to meet the increasing competition of other callings is necessary in the interests of the schools.

Specialized instruction for individuals who are above or below par is quite as justified as average instruction for average children. It is contrary to the interests of society that genius should remain undetected and unencouraged, just as it is wasteful and absurd for backward children and defective children to be treated as if they were not defective or backward. Fit and appropriate opportunity for each according to his needs: the blind and the

* A Committee of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, 1913.

deaf, the crippled and nervous, the exceptionally gifted and well prepared, the clear thinkers and the hard workers. To subject all to the same undifferentiated, uniform, mechanically prescribed routine squares neither with efficiency principles nor with common sense.

Ungraded classes, sufficient in number to give accommodation to all the defective children who are in the schools and cannot be more appropriately removed to institutions, are an obvious advantage to the children in them and to the classes from which they are removed.

It has been reported that in New York City more than twenty thousand slow children were cared for in so-called "rapid progress classes," in which they have the advantages of skilled teachers and abridged and amended courses of study. Whether there is a place for the other kind of rapid progress classes, with enriched and amended courses of study, not for slow but for bright children, may be a question. But certainly in some way there should be recognition and encouragement of their extra capacities and their more rapid promotion within reasonable limits should be facilitated.

Perhaps there is danger of exaggerating the importance of the school as compared with less organized, less formal influences. There is always danger of taking any human institution too seriously. Charities and schools especially are all the better for occasional blasts of satire, chaffing

illuminating criticism, which, without either adulation or prejudice, helps, as it were, to restore a due sense of proportion.

Play belongs with class-room and home life as a serious feature of child life. And not merely regulated, organized, artificially stimulated play, but spontaneous, natural, unwatched play. It is a famous playground director who tells of a startling proposition made by a boy at the end of a very big and successful play program—I am not sure that it was not a "pageant": "Now let's have some fun!" What children need in this direction is a place to play, time to play, and health. I have all possible sympathy with the so-called playground movement. It recognizes that city children do not have a place to play, and that modern civilization must, by conscious effort, restore the glorious privileges of which its own cruder stages have robbed the children and the adults. The conditions are changed from the old days. Leisure comes now, like employment, to masses of men and of children, and some element of organization is necessary to its profitable use. But we are experimenting only. Play festivals and pageants, folk-dances and gymnastics, athletic leagues and competitive school games, are but interesting experiments, full of promise and amply justified so long as we do not fail to leave open the free competition of the street and the open field.

Health and nurture, through home and school

and playmates, through religious and moral and social training, through responsible individual direction and through less direct but genuine community action, are the aims of a policy of social construction in normal childhood, as a good heredity and physical well-being are the aims at birth and in infancy. I have an idea that in these respects those whom we call the poor—the tenement house and alley population in our cities—to-day are rather better off than were the children of the comfortably well-to-do, say fifty years ago.

All parents and relatives who have a family standing, all family physicians and public health physicians and nurses, all teachers and pastors, all neighbors and associates, all who govern in the community, and all who shape its public opinions, are among the builders of the child life of the nation, individually more or less responsible and jointly fully responsible for the death-rate, the incorrigibility rate, the efficiency rate of the children of the nation.

DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Among our thirty-one million children* there are a few—something like one hundred and fifty thousand—for whom society has a greater responsibility than for the others, a different kind of responsibility, because their parents are dead or unable to provide for them or unfit to do so, and

* Total population under sixteen.

this inability or unfitness has been brought to light and clearly established by court action or investigation of some kind which has led to the acceptance of the children in institutions or in foster families under the oversight of child-placing agencies. There are, no doubt, some thousands more for whom parents are really unable or unfit to provide without assistance, but those, we may assume, are in their homes or at school, somewhat neglected, it may be, less fully nourished and less carefully taught and trained, it may be, than their normal life demands, but still sharing in the rising standards of child care in the community, not entirely neglected by their parents, and discovered from time to time by relief agencies, by the church, by a settlement, or by a good samaritan. Of complete neglect by everybody, state and church and neighborhood, there are certainly plenty of cases, both in cities and in remote country places. And for such exhortations and proddings and demonstrations as are furnished by child welfare exhibits and like agencies there is abundant need.

One hundred and fifty thousand children who have been left orphans, or taken away from their parents for any reason, present, however, special problems: the problems most often discussed in conferences of charities when children are under consideration. Dependent children are for the most part in orphan asylums, congregate institutions under private or church control of the type

familiar in all the older states: although, as the Census Bureau tells us in its special report on benevolent institutions, there is an increasing number of state detention homes where dependent and delinquent children are cared for pending final disposition by the juvenile courts; of receiving homes under the conduct of home-finding organizations; of state public schools, intermediary between the orphanage and the reformatory; and of training homes and schools of many kinds which practically are educational institutions. In New York State in 1910 one hundred and forty-four institutions report an average number of two hundred and ten children in each institution, and of these twenty are conducted on what is known as the cottage system. In Maryland there were thirty-three institutions with an average number of seventy-five—two of these thirty-three being on the cottage system. I hope that number has increased since then, as the change in architecture from barracks to cottage, although expensive, represents a determined effort to get away from wholesale methods to retail; from uniformity to individuality; from regimentation to something like family informality; from the impossible to the still difficult but not impossible substitute for a home.

Aside from the gradual—very gradual—introduction of the cottage system, the two marked tendencies to which the census report calls attention are the assumption by some state authority of

supervision over benevolent institutions, including those for children, and the extension of the supervisory care of institutions over children placed by them in family homes or elsewhere. The report calls attention to the close relation between the extension of the cottage system and the emphasis laid in some states on county homes and general state supervision.

Children's institutions present a number of very serious and very difficult problems, about some of which unhappy controversies have raged, fanned by religious bigotry, and representing, even when free from acrimony or misunderstanding, very sharp and fundamental differences in the theory of social construction.

The first of these is as to the right of the institution to exist at all. A fairly good case can be made out against it. It is better that children should be kept alive in an institution than left to die of exposure and starvation, but the alternative to the institution is frequently not starvation, but care by the mother, or care in a well-selected and carefully supervised boarding home. What if all the hundred thousand children now in orphan asylums —only one child in every three hundred of the population under sixteen—could be kept with their own mothers, or with relatives, or with foster parents, or even with paid care-takers in a boarding home, at very little more expense than it costs to build and maintain the institutions? These re-

flections haunt the memory and make uncomfortable the conscience of all who have ever really seen institutional children.

In some places institutions seem to be necessary. In New York it is not easy to see how we could entirely displace them. Our conditions are abnormal and all but impossible. Immigration, congestion, religious interests, a great investment in institutional plants, and an existing subsidy system conspire to put what are thought to be insuperable obstacles in the way of any radical substitution of placing and boarding out for institutions, and even make difficult any general substitution of the cottage for the congregate system. It seems quixotic to be advocating any change there. Reforms and improvements in the existing system are possible and will surely be made, but there is little prospect of retracing the steps by which that system has been established and intrenched. But seeing it thus in full operation, and recognizing that its permanence there seems probable, I bear my testimony in any community not so situated, that it is wasteful of child life, wasteful of educational opportunities, wasteful of economic efficiency and character, promotive often of a spirit the opposite of law-abiding, and this because it does not give an experience to the child in natural family and neighborhood relationships, does not teach the value and use of money in exchange, does not give an opportunity for the development of self-reliance

and self-direction, does not gradually initiate the child into the every-day routine of free citizenship, but necessarily represses his budding individuality, limits and controls the exercise of his judgment as of his body, contracts his vision, mutilates his faculties, distorts his sense of values.

I have recently had occasion to make an inspection of an institution—not a large one, such as you think of as typical of New York, but nevertheless distinctly an institutional institution. It was sanitary, light, airy, and well built. There were schoolrooms, play-rooms and gymnasium, excellent kitchen, laundry, bakery, and dormitories. There were humane managers and a visiting physician. They had twenty acres of land for gardens and playground, and the kindly personal interest of the members of a large association to which the home bears somewhat informal official relation.

And yet, under all these favorable conditions, the children were not receiving the physical or the educational or the religious care which is childhood's birthright. Even yet the wasted opportunities in the lives of that hundred children appall and oppress me. Even yet the dull unresponsiveness of that group of children weighs upon me,—though we did not leave them until we had broken through it and made them laugh and their eyes dance over the prospect of a match ball game and other ideas which they could take in and respond to. The four hours of that day spent in their company on

serious business have lifted for me a little way a curtain behind which there lurk too much darkness, too much community neglect, too much indifference, too much ostrich-like concealment of an age-long, age-unsolved problem.

Next after the question as to the legitimacy of the institution itself is that of the financial system upon which it is conducted.

Privately endowed orphan asylums would be the most dangerous of all perpetually endowed institutions. An institution which is conducted by the state or the city and supported by taxpayers, being obliged to justify itself from year to year and subject to inspection by a competent state board of charities, is far less apt to fall behind the educational ideals and standards of the community. A small church home, caring for the children in a particular neighborhood, visited by church members and supported by their contributions,—although likely to be inadequately equipped,—may be free from serious abuses. A modest receiving home, in which children are kept for a brief time for observation and study, prior to placement in a foster home, is apt to remain wholesome and homelike by the very constant movement of its meager population, by the non-institutional influences of the larger work of which it is but an incident.

It is the large institution under private or religious auspices, managed by a self-perpetuating or appointed board, but supported by state or muni-

cipal appropriations, which is most difficult to keep human and educational, to keep within reasonable bounds as to size, or within reasonable bounds as to its subtle influence on state and municipal affairs. The subsidy or contract system continuously grows by what it feeds on. It represents an unsound principle of divorcing control from support. One body directs the affairs of the institution; another pays the bills. The result is a division of responsibility and neglect of the child. In such an institution children are apt to be received irresponsibly, eagerly, without any due sense of the corresponding obligations. From them go disciplined, in a narrow sense religiously instructed, but still half-educated children. Where the subsidy system is not already firmly established it should be shunned, for it is demoralizing and subversive of the most elementary child-caring principles.

The chief defense of the institution, aside from financial economy, in which, for a given number of children, it has an advantage over cottage homes or a boarding system, is in its superiority on the side of religious and moral instruction. In view of the fact that these children are deprived of their natural home influences there is force in the contention that to place them in a state school, organized like the public day schools, without religious instruction, would be unjustified and abnormal. Foster and boarding homes, or at least small cottage institu-

tions, could largely meet this requirement, however, if we were willing to pay the price. The question, therefore, comes back to that of cost and to our estimate of the value of a natural home life as against an artificial, hot-house environment.

I make no attack upon any particular type of institution, much less upon those of any particular church. I stand upon the conclusions of the White House Conference of 1909:

> 1. Except in unusual circumstances, the home should not be broken up for reasons of poverty, but only for considerations of inefficiency or immorality.
>
> 2. The most important and valuable philanthropic work is not the curative, but the preventive. We urge upon all friends of children . . . to improve the conditions surrounding child life.
>
> 3. As to the children who for sufficient reasons must be removed from their own homes, or who have no homes, it is desirable that, if normal in mind and body and not requiring special training, they should be cared for in families whenever practicable.
>
> 4. Institutions should be on the cottage plan. . . . Existing congregate institutions should so classify their inmates and segregate them into groups as to secure as many of the benefits of the cottage system as possible, and should look forward to the adoption of the cottage type when new buildings are constructed.

5. The state should inspect the work of all agencies which care for dependent children.

6. Educational work of institutions and agencies caring for dependent children should be supervised by state educational authorities.

7. Complete histories of dependent children and their parents should be recorded for guidance of child-caring agencies.

8. Every needy child should receive proper medical and surgical attention and be instructed in health and hygiene.

The placing of dependent children in foster homes has its own difficulties, dangers, and abuses. Whether in free foster homes or in boarding homes, placed-out children and the families in which they are placed require supervision, expert, efficient, conscientious, and continuous. If these children are to be protected from exploitation, taught and nurtured as wards of the state should be, to have a chance at the vocation for which they are fitted, to be developed into physically sound, useful citizens and neighbors, the state or the placing-out agency must be prepared to meet the expense and do the work required to this end.

We are justified in accepting in most matters the usual standards of a community in which the children are placed, provided they are placed in a community which has normally high standards. But through reports and inspections and a readiness to resort, when necessary, to disciplinary measures,

including the summary removal of children for cause and their replacement as often as is necessary, the enforcement of reasonable standards should be assured. We have at present in the child-caring agencies of the country the great advantage of free competition, a generous rivalry between institutions and placing and boarding-out societies or institutions. We are not far enough along to decide that either should be abolished. The new and better ones, or the old ones made better, should not suffer on their account. The institutions have an advantage in being able to organize their medical, optical, dental, orthopedic, and other services in ways that would be impracticable for isolated children, scattered in many families. They can experiment with vocational training, trade schools, domestic science, and so on, adopting methods which are tried and found satisfactory. They can organize, as it were, the whole life of the child: educational, religious, social; so far at least as the resources and limitations of the institution permit. These advantages, which are shared in part by cottage-type and congregate institutions, and in part possessed in superior degree by institutions of the cottage type, have enabled the institutions, when they are progressive in spirit and adequately financed, to make their own contribution to the problem of caring for dependent children.

While it is deemed desirable that children who must be removed from their own homes, or who

have no homes, should be cared for in families whenever practicable, there are those for whom it is not practicable; there are those who require special physical care or special training; there are those who are not placeable in free homes and for whom boarding homes are not available, or who are in communities where the boarding system is not in operation. Probably the proportions will later be reversed. Whereas three dependent children are now in institutions to one placed in a foster home, there may be one in an institution, preferably on the cottage plan, to three in foster families under proper supervision. At the same time, instead of one in every three hundred of the whole population, we may hope, by relief at home and by preventive measures, that not more than one in a thousand of the children under sixteen will have to be cared for outside its own home or that of its relatives or adopted parents.

Among preventive measures which the White House Conference so emphatically prefers to curative, I would not include public out-door relief or widows' pensions. I would include social insurance for sickness and widowhood. I would not include help by the state in furnishing school lunches, eyeglasses, clothing, or other personal equipment. I would include the physical examination of children, the visiting of the home, and the enforcement when necessary of natural parental obligations. I believe, in other words, that the

state should enforce a minimum standard of child care; but that the expense of providing such care should fall on parents and in case of their disability on some insurance fund to which when able they have contributed. I would advocate such a policy of insuring that children's needs are met as will strengthen and not weaken the family bond, develop and not undermine the sense of family responsibility and solidarity, insure a fair opportunity for all and hold the individual responsible for making the most of that opportunity for himself and his family.

III
YOUTH

If childhood is for education, as we all agree, so also, though we may not agree, is youth. The period of adolescence should be used for development, not for that anticipation of the tasks and pleasures of adult life which means a waste of powers and atrophy of undiscovered ability. The physical transition from boy to man, from girl to woman, must be accompanied by corresponding and harmonious mental and moral changes, if a normal maturity is to be reached; and to ensure this normal development our chief social instrument is education—more education and better education: education for economic efficiency, for profitable enjoyment of leisure, for the responsibilities of marriage and family life. Indispensable to it are more opportunities and better opportunities for wholesome recreation. Youth demands a positive program of guidance and normal development, to meet its own needs, and incidentally to prepare for later life.

There is another side, also. Abnormal tendencies manifest themselves in growing boys and girls, and it is exceedingly important that these should receive attention, to the end that they may be corrected or repressed or diverted, as the case

may require. From this point of view the period of adolescence is the critical time in life. As the supreme consideration in infancy is the establishment of a sound and vigorous physique, though I would not dispute with those who hold that there may be a place, even in the first year of life, for some germs of mental and moral training; and as in childhood, while, to be sure, the physical problems are still important and the moral habits are being formed, the main concern is to educate the mind; so in youth we may fairly say, without depreciating the health problems and the mental problems, that the central interest is in the development of character, that, in fact, it is for their immediate or ultimate influence on character—on personality—that we are then interested in health and recreation and training in efficiency.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

It was to emphasize the importance of continuing the period devoted to education past childhood, into and through adolescence, that I refrained in discussing the education of children from reference to compulsory school attendance and child-labor laws. That children should go to school needs in America no argument. There are some children who get no systematic schooling, either in public or private schools or at the hands of tutors or governesses, because they live in remote country districts or in neglected corners of the city, because

they are sick or crippled, or because their parents or guardians are indifferent or unsympathetic to the notion. Such children are few, however, and their numbers are decreasing. Public opinion everywhere in America recognizes that it is an elementary duty to provide a seat in a school-room for every child and to see that he occupies it with a reasonable degree of regularity for a certain number of weeks each year until he reaches a certain age.

How long the child is to go to school is a question on which we are less unanimous. There are places where the school term for the year is not more than twelve weeks, and others where it is forty, with an extension of six weeks of modified activities in the summer vacation. Children start to school at three, four, five, six, seven, eight, or nine years of age, and they leave at ten, eleven, twelve, and thirteen, as well as at fourteen, eighteen, twenty-two, and thirty. I presume most of us would say, if we were discussing this question with a visitor from Mars or Peru, that in America children go to school until they are fourteen years old, and that by that time they have ordinarily completed what we call our elementary grades. If, however, we should go to the latest census to verify our statement, we should find that among fourteen-year-old children in the United States during the school year 1909–10 nineteen in every hundred had had no connection whatever with any kind of school—day or evening,

public or private, academic or industrial; and that among the children of Maryland there were twenty-nine such school-less ones in every hundred instead of nineteen. We should find that the proportion of children in school increases rapidly up to the age of eleven, at which time, in the country as a whole, more than nine out of ten had attended school at some time during the year; that it remains almost as high at twelve and thirteen; drops down, as we have seen, to eighty-one per cent at fourteen; and then falls rapidly to fifty per cent at sixteen, twenty-three per cent at eighteen, and eight per cent at twenty. We should discover many interesting variations among different groups and in different states: that below fourteen, for example, the children of immigrants show the highest proportion of school attendance (probably because they live mainly in cities, where schools are thickest), while at fourteen and over the children of native-born parents are more apt to be in school; that the boys drop out somewhat more rapidly than the girls from twelve to eighteen, but more slowly than the girls after that; that the maximum percentage of Negroes in school at any age is seventy-three per cent at the age of eleven; and that the percentage of eleven-year-old children (the ones who are most apt everywhere to be in school) who did not attend school in the census year varies in the different states from one in forty-three in Vermont to one in three in Louisiana. In other words,

Vermont sends ninety-eight per cent of her children to school and Louisiana sixty-seven per cent. We should reluctantly conclude that in respect to school attendance our actual accomplishment is much too far from our standard of what is normal. It is some comfort, however, to see that there had been a substantial advance in the ten years between 1900 and 1910. Among children ten to fourteen years old, the ages at which school attendance is most general, there were eight more in every hundred going to school in 1910 than there had been in 1900. The improvement was common to all elements of the population and to both sexes; it was most significant among the Negroes.

ILLITERACY

The results of this increase in school attendance are seen in the figures for illiteracy. (Persons seem to have been reported as "illiterate" at the last census if they could not write their names.) Among children ten to fourteen years old, the age group which has had the advantage of the latest extension of educational privileges and requirements, there were only four out of a hundred who were "illiterate"; among white children of native parentage there were only two. In each older group of persons the proportion was higher, until at sixty-five and over there were about fifteen in every hundred who could not write, the increase in illiteracy at successive ages taking us back through

successive gradations of less and less favorable childhood conditions, as far as facilities for education are concerned. This again is seen most strikingly among the Negroes: among the old people three-fourths are reported as illiterate, but the proportion decreases to less than one-fifth among the children ten to fourteen years of age.

Even in the way of keeping young children in school, therefore, we still have much to do, and serious efforts for those over fourteen are still in the future. The curve of school attendance, which you may imagine as rising from early childhood to the age of eleven, having a narrow apex of only three years from eleven to thirteen, falling at fourteen and then more rapidly, must be considerably modified. It should be filled out and lifted up until it embraces at ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, and fourteen years of age all the children whose education can profitably be carried on in schools—say something like ninety-nine and a half per cent instead of only eighty; and then it should be kept steadily at that same high point through fifteen and sixteen, and after sixteen should not be allowed to descend so precipitately. The "wasted years" between fourteen and sixteen, which are worse than wasted if used for earning, are the most productive years for development.

CHILD LABOR LAWS

One aid to keeping children in school is to keep them out of the factories and shops and mines and mills by the uncompromising hand of law, state and federal. Another is to make school so attractive that nothing else can compete with it in interest. Child-labor laws cannot be enforced successfully unless the compulsory education laws harmonize with them, and unless there are schools for all the children involved, and unless the children want to attend them, or at least their parents want them to do so.

There are good reasons why children should not go to work. They have been stated so frequently and so well and in so many ways in the last ten years, since the National Child Labor Committee was organized, that it almost seems necessary to apologize for referring to them. We need not, at any rate, try to improve on statements already made. A hundred and thirty years ago an English physician,* reporting on an epidemic among the factory children in Manchester, called attention to the physical injury done to young persons through confinement and long-continued labor in the cotton mills, asserting that "the active recreations of childhood and youth are necessary to the growth, the vigour, and the right conformation of

* Quoted in Hutchins and Harrison: History of Factory Legislation.

the human body"; and he could not refrain from suggesting, though apparently he felt that it was a little outside his own special territory, "this further important consideration, that the rising generation should not be debarred from all opportunities of instruction at the only season of life in which they can be properly improved." A few years later, summarizing in another connection the dangers of factory work, he refers again to the need of active exercise in youth "to invigorate the system and to fit our species for the employments and for the duties of manhood," and to the importance of not debarring children from all opportunities of education, and adds: "The untimely labour of the night, and the protracted labour of the day, with respect to children, not only tends to diminish future expectations as to the general sum of life and industry, by impairing the strength and destroying the vital stamina of the rising generation, but it too often gives encouragement to idleness, extravagance, and profligacy in the parents, who, contrary to the order of nature, subsist by the oppression of their offspring." This last point was made later on by a magistrate testifying before Sir Robert Peel's parliamentary committee in 1816: "If parents were thrown more upon themselves and did not draw a profit from children in their very early years, they might not waste so much of their own time, they would work harder, and probably obtain better wages for better work." Another

witness at the same hearing called attention to the low wages of adult workers as an argument against child labor.

These arguments, to be sure, were applied chiefly to children under ten, whose right to childhood is happily no longer questioned in America except in isolated instances. We all agree with Robert Owen now that it is "not necessary for children (i. e., not necessary for their good) to be employed under ten years of age in any regular work"; that the "danger of their acquiring vicious habits for want of regular occupation" is negligible, and that, on the contrary, their "habits" are apt to be "good in proportion to the extent of their education."

Gradually—much too gradually—we have been extending the minimum length of childhood to twelve years, to fourteen years, and now are trying to push it up to sixteen. We have learned more definitely why it should be extended. The bony structure of the body is still plastic and yielding. Important physiological functions are in process of establishment. A large amount of evidence has been accumulated to show the high cost of the pitiful wages that can be earned in these years: the cost in disease, in accidents, in crime, in inefficient maturity, in demoralized, topsy-turvy relations of parents and children. Boys and girls who work in cotton-mills have about twice as high a death-rate as other boys and girls. Machinery bites off children's fingers when they are inattentive, as chil-

dren sometimes are, leaving them "no good for work any more." Children who work are apt to be undersized and anemic. They are found in the juvenile courts out of all proportion to their numbers, are more inclined to the serious offenses, and very much more apt to become habitual delinquents, so that, inasmuch as the working and the non-working juvenile delinquents come from "the same general level of well-being," it "seems rather difficult," as the Bureau of Labor conservatively puts it, "to escape the conclusion that being at work has something to do with their going wrong."* Children who go to work at fourteen are earning less at eighteen than those who begin two years later, and there is reason to believe that their wages and the steadiness of their employment compare even more unfavorably at thirty and forty, when they have children of their own. All this new knowledge has had its effect. We do not like to think of children working while grown people are idle, even if they are not in the same family. Miss Cleghorn's recent quatrain in the New York *Tribune* makes us uncomfortable:

> The golf-links lie so near the mill
> That almost every day
> The laboring children can look out
> And watch the men at play.

And yet, in actual practice, in the realization of our standards, we have not yet attained the very

* Woman and Child Wage-earners, vol. viii, Sixty-first Congress, Senate Document 645.

reasonable ideal proposed by Dr. Roger S. Tracy a full generation ago:*

> I think, therefore, that eventually the laws will be so framed as to either prevent the employment of children in factories before the age of puberty, or render their employment under that age liable to irregular interruptions, and therefore a well-recognized commercial risk. The age at which they may first be employed will either be fixed arbitrarily at fourteen or fifteen or will be left to the judgment of a medical inspector. Between fourteen and twenty the youth is still immature, although capable of considerable endurance, and he or she should not be allowed to work more than eight hours a day at the most. After this age the hours and methods of labor may safely be left to be determined by the law of competition.

CHILDREN AT WORK

And yet, even now, the census investigators of 1910 found nearly two million children engaged in "gainful occupations," more than one in six of the children between ten and sixteen years of age; so many, as Mr. Lewis W. Hine puts it, with the vividness of one of his photographs, that "the procession . . . would take five years to pass a given point if the children appeared at the rate of one a minute day and night,"—and that, too, with-

* Second Report of the New York Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1879.

out the children who work in the cranberry bogs of New Jersey, in the fruit and vegetable canneries of New York, in the berry fields of Maryland and Delaware—to mention only a few places where special inquiries have found large numbers of them in seasonal occupations which were not in operation in the month of April, when the census was taken. Three out of four of the children in the procession would come from the farms and dairies and lumber-camps, the ranches and oyster-beds and bee-hives and chicken-coops, which is less idyllic than it may sound. Most of the rest would come from kitchens and nurseries, factories, mills, machine-shops, and stores; quarries and mines; foundries and glass-works and printing-presses and sweat-shops; and from the streets, where they have been selling newspapers, blacking boots, driving grocery wagons, and running to and fro with telegrams and hat-boxes and proof and other things that must be carried quickly from one place to another. There would also be, scattered through the procession, eight postmasters fourteen and fifteen years old; three hundred and fifty-five little boys ten to thirteen years of age who were laborers on steam railroads; nineteen mail-carriers under fourteen and twenty-one school-teachers, not to mention two "jigger men and jolly men" in the potteries, a stationary engineer in an iron mine, three engineers on boats, four bakers and two bakeresses, one hundred and fifty-one barbers and hair-

dressers, four compositors, three grocers, seventeen turfmen, five artists and seven photographers, five librarians' assistants, and three "other literary persons," ten music teachers, two surveyors, and one "other scientific person," one sexton, two hundred and eleven nurses ("not trained"), and six "religious and charity workers," three of each sex.

Child labor still exists in America. There are even regularly employed wage-earners not yet ten years old—younger than those of whom I have just spoken. Investigators find them here and there, and there are records of them on the individual schedules filled out by the census enumerators in 1910, though the tabulators have not bothered to count them up.

We hoped when the National Child Labor Committee was organized in 1904 that it would be able to accomplish its purpose and go out of existence after ten years if it worked hard. We are greatly disappointed that it has not. A great deal has been accomplished, but, as Dr. Felix Adler, who has been chairman of the Committee since the beginning, said at the tenth annual meeting last year:

> Though there is more or less adequate legislation in the great majority of the states, there are still enormous obstacles to be surmounted; indifference is to be turned into ardor, and laws that now lie cold in the statute-book as in a tomb are to be resurrected into the life of enforcement.

"The unexpected magnitude of child labor," to quote Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, the first secretary of the Committee, "the stubbornness of the interests arrayed in its support—employers' profits, parental selfishness and indifference, and the child's aversion to, or the hopeless inadequacy or ineffectiveness of educational opportunities—and the ease with which many forms of child labor eluded any known legislative restraint," have shown that the undertaking is greater than was anticipated. What has been accomplished in the decade, however, justifies the estimate of the present secretary, Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy, that child labor may be completely abolished "within the life of the present generation":

> We now know where child labor exists and in what forms. We know what forces must be opposed in seeking legislation. We have learned the importance of practical education for all children and how to coöperate with educators to promote it. We have been instrumental in setting on foot the most important public service ever rendered by the Federal Government, in the establishment of the Federal Children's Bureau. We are now at the door of Congress asking our Government to outlaw traffic among the states in the products of child labor.*

* The reference is to the Palmer-Owen bill to exclude from inter-State commerce goods in the manufacture of which children under fourteen had been employed. This bill passed the House of Representatives by a large majority, but did not reach a vote in the Senate in the Sixty-third Congress.

Thirty-six states now have a fourteen-year limit for factories; thirty-four prohibit night work under sixteen years; eighteen require an eight-hour day between fourteen and sixteen; and thirty-six provide for the inspection of factories.

With all the children shut out of industry to the age of sixteen,—as all girls are in Ohio,—we have discharged our first duty to normal adolescence. The next step is to keep them in school.

Little children are not critical. They accept school, as they accept their relatives and their backyard and front door-step, as a part of the universe with which they are getting acquainted. By the time they have reached the age of twelve or fourteen, however, their attitude changes. They make comparisons; they become restless; they chafe against restraint and look about for more adequate channels of self-expression and development; and when the opportunity comes for a change, they welcome it. This is what make this period at once the despair and the opportunity for the educator.

It has been a popular pastime, and a profitable one, for several years to ask working children why they left school when they did, and the most common answer, aside from the assumption that it was the thing to do as soon as one reached his fourteenth birthday or "graduated" from grammar school, has always been that they were tired of it, or didn't like it; four hundred and twelve out of

five hundred factory children said definitely that they liked the factory better.* Their reasons for this preference are well summarized by two of them, who explained it thus:

> You never understand what they tells you in school, but you can learn right off to do things in a factory.
>
> When you works a whole month at school, the teacher she gives you a card to take home, that says how you ain't any good.

These two comments go to the root of the educator's problem. To-day's young people are practical. They want to make things, to get results, to see the use of whatever they are asked to do in school. They are interested in their school work, apparently, in proportion to the relation which they can see between it and "real life."

It is on the teaching profession that the main responsibility must rest for solving these educational problems, for "rationalizing" and "democratizing" the public schools and making them as useful to the boys and girls who leave them at sixteen to go into an office or a factory as they have been in the past to those who go on into normal school or college. We may safely leave this responsibility with the educators of the country—half a million of them there are, or more, including those twenty-one under fourteen years of age,

* Helen M. Todd in *McClure's Magazine*, April, 1913.

though we ought not perhaps to impose too much responsibility on these infants—if the students of industrial problems do their part in supplying information about the conditions in the various industries and in helping to analyze the various processes with a view to discovering what is the precise training required for each.

EDUCATION FOR ADAPTABILITY

Education for efficiency is not to be identified with a narrowly specialized "vocational" education. Too narrowly specialized training may have precisely the opposite result, creating inefficiency instead of efficiency. Processes in any vocation may be completely revolutionized within a few years, or the vocation itself may disappear. Adaptability to changing conditions becomes, therefore, quite as desirable for the normal man and woman as specialized skill in a particular process. Points of similarity in several different occupations are more numerous and important than appear upon the surface. Quickness, dexterity, skill in making particular combinations, coördination of eye and hand, may be transferred from one kind of factory to another if trade-union regulations or traditional notions of administration do not interfere.

In addition to the elementary education which childhood receives in the school and the home, there is a more liberal form of education, though it is fundamentally the same—an education suitable for

more mature youth, the aim of which is to give just this adaptability to changing conditions, a training which is not for a trade but for life, for the industrial and economic and moral situations that will arise, for the crises which will come, requiring judgment and character. This more liberal education lies at the very foundation of efficiency. Fourteen to sixteen or eighteen are the years for it. It can, no doubt, be imparted in the commercial and trade school, in agricultural courses and domestic science, as well as in history, literature, art, and economics. But that it is distinct from and prior to the choice of a vocation, and must freely include many elements which should not be taken for granted as likely to be picked up incidentally in the course of specialized trade instruction, seems hardly open to question.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

Specialized training for a particular vocation is exceedingly important, to supplement this fundamental education in adaptability, but it should not begin too early. Probably it should not begin before sixteen. The child who has had an undifferentiated general education, as diversified and well rounded as possible, including training of muscles and senses, as well as of reasoning powers and other faculties which we have been in the habit of referring to as "the brain," but without special instruction in the technique of any one trade or calling, may

even turn out to be better equipped to earn a living after sixteen than the one who has been specializing for the two years in a vocation which he selected at fourteen.

Most children could do a number of different things equally well. Most children, also, are ready to choose an occupation at a moment's notice. The younger they are, the easier it is for them to choose. But this is no excuse for narrowing their outlook, restricting their future opportunities, by asking them to choose before they have the basis for doing so wisely. You would not hold your boy to his chosen vocation of fireman or sailor or policeman or baseball player or president of the United States, and direct his studies from this time forth toward that goal.

Consider how occupations in life are determined. We may have a position waiting for us in our father's business from the time we are born, in view of which our education is planned from the outset. Crown princes had vocational training long before the phrase was used or the proposition made to—shall I say democratize?—the thing itself. We may have been destined for the ministry and have worked our way painfully through the requisite Latin and Greek and Hebrew, while all our interest was in mathematics and physics, and then, asserting independence midway of the college course, have turned out eventually—an electrical engineer. Most of us in America, however, have freer rein

and can take the path that allures us as soon as we recognize it, within the limitations of our circumstances. Your young man may then, let us say, after a liberal education, a professional training of some sort, and some reasonably successful years in teaching or the ministry or the law or in business, have found his way to social work. One whom I know had the definite intention, at successive stages of his education, of being a doctor, a minister, and a journalist, and at each stage he was so fortunate as to have had the sympathy and advice of wise representatives of the profession just then at stake who encouraged him to join their ranks. He thinks now that he would not have been a success in any of the three. The probability is that he would have been moderately successful, moderately contented, in any of them.

There are many students, even in professional schools, who have not yet "found themselves," in spite of the more than average opportunity they have had to do so. The head of a large engineering school is reported, in a recent newspaper article, to have said that at least fifty per cent of the men in that school do not belong there. Sixty per cent of the graduates of a well-known law school stay in clerical positions because they have no real aptitude for the law. Medical schools say that the number of students temperamentally unqualified to become physicians is lamentably large, and seems to be increasing. Normal schools estimate that less

than half of their students have any special teaching ability; and fifteen theological schools report that seventy per cent of their enrollment have no marked qualifications for the profession they are preparing to enter. Even in the training schools for social work, although this profession has not yet begun to attract in any considerable numbers persons not naturally adapted to it, we find students every once in a while whom we are not justified in encouraging to complete the course.

HOW JOBS ARE FOUND IN INDUSTRY

Boys and girls who leave school to go to work as soon as the law allows are not likely to be more fortunate in their choice of an occupation than young men and women in professional schools. Usually there is not much "choice" involved. They "get a job" in any way they can—through a friend or a brother or sister, by answering advertisements, or by applying in response to a sign Boy Wanted or Girl Wanted, no matter for what.

Miss Van Kleeck tells of a Hungarian woman who had worked for four years in flower shops as the result of a "negative choice," made by eliminating other occupations:*

> Nor was her enthusiasm great for the trade which she had selected. . . . She went into flower making because she knew that in saleswork the hours were always long and $7.00

* Artificial Flower Makers, p. 200.

about the maximum wage. She couldn't stand machine operating on account of the noise, and didn't care for dressmaking. She had been watching the newspapers and had seen a great many advertisements for flower makers. Now that she has tried it she thinks it is as good as any other trade. It is better than vest making, for instance, where the girls have to work with men. Still, she says many people think flower making is not a very healthy trade. The doctor had told her that she must leave it if she became anemic.

Even more casual was a Russian girl's choice:*

When she left school she decided she would like to get into a department store. So she went up to Sixth Avenue and asked a policeman where the different stores were. He pointed them out to her and she applied as cash girl, salesgirl, stock girl, and so on, but nobody wanted her. As she was walking home down Broadway she noticed a sign out for artificial flower makers. She had heard that girls often worked at this trade. So she went in and applied for a "situation" and was told to come the next day.

The interesting experiences of a New York Italian boy in the first three months of his industrial career were related by Mr. Winthrop D. Lane in THE SURVEY not long ago:†

On the last day of last January John Panello, aged fifteen years and five months, grad-

* P. 201. † Vol. xxix, p. 225, November 23, 1912.

uated from a public grammar school in New York. On the twentieth of February he got his "working papers" from the Board of Health. In school he had been fond of arithmetic, and from childhood had wanted to become a bookkeeper. But the class-room had become irksome to him, and his parents, financially comfortable, had just "taken it for granted" that he would go to work after graduation. He received no answer to his first application for a job—that of office boy in a place where he hoped that he might work up to a position as bookkeeper . . . After three weeks of looking for work he got a job as errand boy for a dyeing and cleaning establishment. Five dollars a week were the wages, and tips amounted to a dollar or two extra. At the end of one week the boy who had had the job before came back and John was fired. . . . After a day's hunt he saw a sign, "Boy Wanted," and was taken on by a firm manufacturing ladies' hats. Here he swept the floor, ran errands, and helped to pack. At the end of two weeks . . . he left because "a feller who had been there four years was getting only $6.00 a week."

Before leaving he had been lucky enough to get a promise of a job with a millinery firm. At first his work consisted in "going for stuff to the first floor," then he ran a crimping machine, and next was detailed to "get the cord downstairs for the men who make rugs." After a week and a half of this . . . "another feller said 'come along and learn carpentry,'" so John got a job at loading and un-

> loading wagons for a firm that made wooden boxes. . . . When he learned that the boss was going to move to Staten Island he decided to quit . . . He had been with the firm two weeks.
>
> During the next three weeks John did five different kinds of work for a manufacturer of jewelry and notions. He was making $4.50, but when a man said, "Come along, I've got an office job for you," he quit. The "office job" consisted in acting as shipping clerk, running errands, answering the telephone, and sweeping the floor for a manufacturer of artificial flowers. He is still there, getting $5.00 a week. He doesn't think much of the work. "What can I learn there?" he asks.

In consequence of our growing realization of such conditions as these, there has sprung up in the last ten years a whole series of new educational devices which it would be hopeless to attempt to discuss here. It may suggest the various problems involved to enumerate some terms which President Pearse of the State Normal School at Milwaukee undertook to define at the meeting of the National Education Association* last year:

Manual Training.
Industrial Education.
Vocational Education.
Professional Vocational Education.
Commercial Vocational Education.
Industrial Vocational Education.

* Addresses and Proceedings, 1914, pp. 582–586.

Trade Education.
Occupational Education.
Agricultural Education.
Pre-vocational Education.
Continuation Education.
Non-vocational Continuation Education.
Vocational Continuation Education.
Continuation Occupational Education.
Commercial Continuation Education.
Professional Continuation Education.
Vocational Guidance.

Vocational guidance is, properly speaking, a feature of work rather than of education, although it is an educator's and not a foreman's function. Dr. Herman Schneider insists that it should accompany work and cannot safely precede it. The Cincinnati plan aims to keep young people until eighteen in touch with those who are interested in getting them properly placed by requiring them to come back to the school authorities for a new authorization every time they change positions. By the two-fold policy of bringing the graduates of the grammar school into contact with a wide range of activities when they are ready to feel their way into industry, and requiring them to justify their plans each time they take a new job until they are eighteen, they avoid the pitfalls which lie in any scheme for fitting boys and girls to particular jobs merely by physical examinations or by the tests and methods of experimental psychology.

HEALTH

Early adolescence under normal conditions sees the health problem almost solved, if the death-rate be taken as an index. Deaths from disease in the years between ten and fifteen are comparatively rare. In New York, for example, in 1910, one death occurred from all causes in every four hundred of the population of that age, as against one in twenty under five years of age and one in thirty-five in the twenty years from forty-five to sixty-five. After fifteen tuberculosis begins to affect the death-rate more seriously. A large proportion of the comparatively small number of deaths between ten and fifteen, one-ninth or one-eighth of the whole, are due to drowning, injuries from firearms, street and railway accidents, homicide, and other external causes.

But, of course, the death-rate at this age is not a complete index of the health problem. In adolescence, as in infancy and childhood, normal, healthy living requires some conscious attention to physical defects and diseases. The teeth require frequent cleaning and prompt treatment of cavities. Free dental clinics have their champions, though I think inexpensive service would be better. Certainly decayed teeth are a neglected source of infection, even in this country, in spite of the deservedly high reputation of American dental surgery. We should not have to choose between the hi

prices charged by skilful dentists, a free dental clinic, or a fraudulent painless dental parlor. A dentist has suggested the advantage of opening, at many convenient places, tooth-cleaning establishments, economically equipped but sanitary, in charge of properly instructed young women—there is no special merit perhaps in their being young—where, for twenty-five cents, or at most half a dollar, any customer, we would not have to call them patients, could drop in as he would for a shine or a shave or a haircut, and have the tartar removed and the harmless polish applied. In somewhat the same way for the fitting of glasses a trained refractionist, even if not an optical surgeon, may perform a useful function. By standing out too stiffly for the principle that glasses can be fitted only by one who knows all about the diseases of the eye, or teeth cleaned only by a doctor of dental surgery, the medical profession might easily defeat its own ends and impose upon persons of limited means a disagreeable choice of prohibitive expense, charity, and charlatanism.

Adenoids may still be present to remove in the adolescent years, or may have come back after earlier treatment. Spinal curvatures and broken arches and organs which do not function properly may still require appropriate remedy. Such conditions may be evidence of earlier neglect, or they may have developed after an apparently normal infancy and childhood. Eternal vigilance to de-

tect them promptly, efficient discipline to correct them definitely, and a not too penurious provision by parents, or, if necessary, by the community, for medical and surgical treatment are the price of normality in adolescence, as in childhood.

Faults of diet and of physical carriage and habits injurious to health and energy plant the seeds of disease from which the harvest is reaped in later life. Protection from such faults and habits, and persistent instructions in the laws and precepts of normal healthy living, are, therefore, as appropriate as in childhood—perhaps even more essential. For at this adolescent age the mind is capable of receiving and storing up dominant ideals, permanent motives, which will color the whole subsequent life. Even childhood does this, but youth does it more consciously, more rationally, and more firmly. Our health ideal must be social, democratic, positive, associated with vigor and enjoyment and fullness of life. To get such a dominant ideal in the back of the minds of the youth of America is the most stirring program of social reform.

Recreation in these years of character forming is essential, not primarily for health, but for more direct and more complex ends. Athletic sports, causing the young men and maidens to put forth their strength, to measure their utmost physical powers with one another or with an ideal bogey, giving them experience with team play in its most developed and subtle forms, guarding them by the

varied attractions of the recreation fields from baser pleasures, have a social value far surpassing their mere health-giving function, though that of itself is not to be despised.

MENTAL DEFECT

From the baby's standpoint we found reasons for advocating the segregation and continued custodial care of the mentally defective, who, if at large, might become their fathers and mothers. If by some Bluebird magic we could conjure the unborn babies into a council, we may be sure that, for many reasons, they would choose other than the feeble-minded for parents.

Both on grounds of fact and of theory, says the British Royal Commission on this subject, there is the highest degree of probability that "feeble-mindedness" is usually spontaneous in origin, that is, not due to influences acting on the parent, and tends strongly to be inherited. If this is so, prevention is not to be expected through such means as lessen sickness and injuries, but rather by such means as prevent this inheritance. It is in the years of adolescence and early maturity that the need for custodial institutional care is greatest, as our laws recognize and the ages of the actual population of the institutions indicate. In 1910 forty per cent of those in institutions for the feeble-minded were between ten and twenty, nearly thirty per cent between twenty and thirty. Perhaps it

might be better if these particular proportions were reversed by leaving children under fifteen with their parents when the home conditions are at all favorable, and concentrating, for the present, rather on those from fifteen to thirty or forty. Patients of this kind are, however, happier in their institutional life if they have not, before entering upon it, been corrupted by a taste for drink, dance halls, and other low pleasures. While more than eighty per cent of the insane are in hospitals or asylums, less than ten per cent of the feeble-minded in all are in institutions. In all the South the census reports only six Negroes in special institutions for the feeble-minded in 1910. There is as much need of institutional care for the feeble-minded as for the insane, both from the point of view of the comfort and welfare of the individual and from the point of view of the safety and welfare of society. They are, in a sense, as Dr. Barr points out, a waste product, but one of the great culminations of the nineteenth century, as he also points out, was the utilization of waste products, and it is an example of this that there has been recognition of the true status of the imbecile, his possibilities and his limitations, and that there has been created for him a sphere in which, trained and encouraged in congenial occupation, he may attain to a certain degree of independence, growing to be no longer a menace to society nor altogether a helpless burden. Dr. Fernald once estimated that two in a

thousand of the whole population are mentally defective. If in the manner urged by all authorities we can breed that element out of the population, or even half of it, the gain will be beyond calculation. Adolescence is the time of life when it is most important that feeble-mindedness, if it exists, shall be definitely ascertained and appropriately treated.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

One of the most important of all social problems in connection with adolescence is that of delinquency. A certain amount, given a proper setting, safeguards, and antecedents, is altogether normal. What middle-aged citizen does not look back to adolescent escapades which would have come within the law if the law had happened to be busy at that particular spot and moment; within at least that degree of disfavor which the French happily call "contraventions," and for which we have no less awkward term than "violation of city ordinances?" If there is a citizen who has no such memory, I fear that in his youth he was not looked upon as normal by his contemporaries. Judge Lindsey points out that it is not for the most part courts, not even juvenile courts after they are established, that deal with delinquents. Parents, teachers, Sunday-school teachers, and neighbors are the real social agencies for dealing with delinquents; for quite literally all healthy normal children, girls

as well as boys, are likely now and then to transgress the rules. If they are fortunate in their try-and-fail experiments, in their gradual adaptation of themselves to their environmental condition, they come into contact with indulgent but firm disciplinarians, parents, teachers, or it may be policemen, who check their wrong actions without causing that deep-seated resentment, that spiritual revolt against social control, which is the beginning of an anti-social career of crime.

A large number of offenses are, of course, purely conventional, subject to a necessary condemnation because of the environment in which they occur, but in themselves harmless or even wholly commendable when age and need of physical expression are considered. Playing ball is a normal function of youth in a proper place. Driving a bicycle or a motor-cycle or an automobile beyond the speed recognized as desirable on the city streets is quite compatible with a law-abiding spirit if done in an appropriate environment. We need not multiply illustrations. The surprising thing is that young people, on the whole, so naturally cease to be "natural," so normally fit themselves into the "abnormal" conventions we impose upon them, so readily demonstrate that they are fitted for a social life, better fitted by the complex nature which is their social heritage than for a savage life.

And so, when it comes to the delinquent boy in a narrower sense, it is as well to recognize that his

early offenses may differ mainly in degree and by accident from the offenses of other boys who are not called delinquent. There is a difference; but, except in the case of the mentally defective, a large proportion of those who are convicted and sent to reformatories, this difference between the delinquent and the normal child is one not difficult, or at least not impossible, to bridge.

Delinquents before the courts and in reformatories very often are found to be subnormal in physical condition, in weight, in strength, in development, in vitality, in acuteness of senses. It is sometimes because of such disadvantages that they are caught, while their more alert and vigorous companions escape. If these more alert and vigorous delinquents escape to the care and custody of indulgent but firm and skilled disciplinarians in the person of their own parents, or others who have influence over them, no harm may come of their having escaped, but rather good. If, however, they escape from their first experiences without warning or arrest, to fall upon other lines, there may be very serious consequences indeed.

On the whole, it is better for the petty thief, the juvenile law-breaker, to be caught. The one who is taken into custody is reasonably certain in the present state of public opinion—it was not always so—to have his first chance to reform, as a result of warning and paternal counsel. He is only too likely to have his second and third chance—so

many chances that if he does not profit by them he may come to lose respect for authority and to speculate with adolescent precocity on the curious turns of the wheel by which an all-too-blind justice distributes her penalties and favors. This was especially so in the still so recent dark ages, when youthful and adult criminals were penalized according to a fixed scale of punishments, rigidly prescribed in the penal codes—so many months or years for one offense and so many for another, regardless of the personal equation, regardless of all the differing traits and circumstances which, rightly understood, give the only basis for deciding what treatment is desirable. It is better for the boy and the girl who go wrong to be caught, but it is well that society, having made the capture, does not itself go wrong.

The modern social paraphernalia for dealing with juvenile delinquency includes parental schools for truants; kindly but vigilant truant officers, who are not policemen but teachers, as we might say, on scout duty; juvenile courts and courts of domestic relations, disciplining mainly parents and translating the corrigibility of the child into the correctional ability of the parent and teacher, of which the boy unwittingly gives evidence; probation officers, men and women, who are sometimes to the judge what the trained nurse is to the physician, and sometimes more like the consulting specialist, to whose professional skill and insight

the regular practitioner gladly defers; reformatories and industrial schools and colonies for feeble-minded—a series of educational and remedial agencies which, among them, make prisons and jails for young offenders obsolete and discredited, useless and impossible.

One feature of social construction affecting juvenile crime is the socialization of police systems, increased emphasis on prevention of crimes, and diminishing emphasis on making a record for arrest and convictions. Another is that development of the school system which provides a greater variety of instruction, and especially that which connects the school with occupational interests and increases the efficiency of workers. Another is the provision, through various voluntary agencies, above all, perhaps, through the Young Men's Christian Associations and similar agencies, of facilities for recreation, for amusement, for the rational use of leisure. Boys' and men's clubs in churches, settlements, and elsewhere serve the purpose of giving a healthy outlet for normal, but too often perverted, instincts—social instincts.

I speak of boys and men, rather than of girls and women, only because they are more often delinquent. Of the twenty-five thousand juvenile delinquents in institutions on January first of the census year, six thousand were females and nineteen thousand males—more than three times as many. Of a little over fourteen thousand com-

mitted to institutions in the year 1910, nearly twelve thousand were males. In Maryland in that year more than ten times as many males as females were committed. The most interesting fact in the analysis of the offenses for which these children and youths were committed is that eight hundred and forty of a total of eleven hundred and eighty-two in Maryland, and more than half of the twenty-five thousand in the United States, are in custody for what are called "other offenses," or for "two or more offenses," with no information as to what they are. If that item alone does not lay bare the need for better statistics of delinquency, no elaboration of argument would do it. It would be a satisfaction to believe, as the statistics seem to say, that no juveniles were in custody in Maryland for homicide or fraud or rape or violating the liquor law, but there remains the uncomfortable suspicion that that sundry item, containing all the "two or more offenses," may possibly conceal any number of such crimes. That there were one hundred and six who had been convicted of larceny or burglary, twenty-nine of prostitution or allied offenses, and one hundred and ninety-seven of vagrancy, has significance, especially since these are also the largest items of offenses for the United States, always excepting that more than fifty per cent of "other" and compound offenses.

It is interesting also that in Maryland there was only a single juvenile delinquent who was serving a

fixed sentence of more than three years, while there were over seven hundred such sentences in other states. It is cheerful to reflect that this solitary boy's time will be up before the next census, if it is not already, as he was in for only six years, and we may hope that he has no successor. All but thirty-five, however, of the juvenile delinquents of Maryland—including twenty-three who were technically on indeterminate sentence—were committed for the period of their minority, which, I presume, in practice becomes an indeterminate sentence, so far as confinement within the walls of an institution is concerned, the guardianship remaining with the institution unless terminated by court order, adoption, or otherwise.

The time when crimes occur is not a time when society can effectively discharge its full responsibility in regard to them. Public intoxication and disorderly conduct show on the police court calendars as offenses of middle life and even of old age, but the problem of inebriety—of drunkenness, to use an uglier and no shorter word—is mainly one of youth and early maturity. Larceny, burglary, fraud, assaults, rape, arson, and homicide are committed at all ages, but the determination of character which will show itself from time to time according to its nature takes place in youth.

There are qualities which are permanently inherent in the germ plasm. We are considering here, however, that individual character, whether in-

herited or acquired, which belongs to the individual in his normal progress from his own cradle to that of his grandchildren, the particular set of traits which he actually exhibits in his relations with his fellows, in his career in the flesh. These traits may, indeed, be what a biologist might call body-characters, a fortuitous and transitory possession of the particular individual, rather than determinant-bearing chromosomes of the cell nucleus, carried along by the individual merely as a trustee of his racial stock, or they may be the more ephemeral but surely not unimportant qualities which belong to the individual himself, gained not from his inheritance, but from his education and environment. We are not concerned at this stage with concealed defects of seed plasm, but with the man himself, body and living spirit, as he lives among us. Of this man we may say with confidence that whether he is to be temperate or intemperate, shiftless or energetic, a deserter or a steady and responsible family man, a drone or a worker, a criminal or a law-abiding member of society, a parasite or a self-dependent, surplus-producing creditor of society, an exploiter or a socialized captain of industry,—if his abilities give him this alternative,—all this depends largely on the educational influences, conscious and unconscious, brought to bear upon him in the formative period of life. As the twig is bent, the tree's inclined. It is an irritatingly trite and a profoundly true saying.

IV
MATURITY: WORK

STAGES OF THE NORMAL LIFE

Man's normal life, though it has its crises, is not sharply divided into census age-periods. We have refrained from setting precise boundaries to its stages of development, adopting words in ordinary use in their popular sense to suggest them. Individuals differ widely both in physical and in social development, some passing earlier and some later from infancy to childhood, from childhood into adolescence, and from youth to maturity.

Infancy seems to begin definitely enough with birth, but even there we have had to push the boundary back to grandparents and remote ancestors, as Oliver Wendell Holmes, in another sense, long ago advised. We closed that first chapter at about the time of the first birthday anniversary. Childhood then begins at the point when education in its broadest sense begins to assume greater importance than food.

Adolescence is the period of growing up, *i. e.*, from children into men and women. Babies and children "grow"; boys and girls "grow up." The physiological transition begins to be apparent at different ages in different races and climates and in different individuals, and the time required for the process varies. Physiologists are inclined to place

it farther along than eighteen and twenty-one, the years at which we have been in the habit of considering that youths and maidens come of age, as the changes are not completely established, stability and equilibrium not entirely assured, until a few years later,—perhaps at about twenty-five. The tendency in education and in economic relations is in the direction of making the "social" period of adolescence coterminous with the physiological.

By maturity we mean the point at which the individual has arrived at full growth and development—by natural process, as the Latin word suggests—not the maturity into which children are forced when set to work to support the family, or to assume other burdens and responsibilities which properly belong to adult life. An adult is a person who has grown up. It is the past participle of *adolescere*, and this word *adolescere* is akin to *alere*, which means "to nourish." So the past participle adult may be taken socially to mean, as it should, both grown up and nourished.

The stages of development merge gently into one another in the individual life, as in larger groups. If boys still think proudly, on their twenty-first birthday, that now they have arrived at man's full estate, there are almost sure to be several occasions after that when they will doubt their claim to the title, or to which, at any rate, they will look back from the heights of fifty or sixty with wonder that so crude and unbalanced a youngster had been

allowed such freedom. This is not necessarily proof, however, that his family or society showed poor judgment in leaving him at large. There has to be a period of learning by experience, however careful and wise the preparation which has been given. A girl's eighteenth birthday does not ordinarily mean much more to her than her sixteenth or nineteenth, unless she happens to be an heiress. Probably to the average girl the twentieth, when she "passes out of her teens," seems more significant, both to her, eagerly looking ahead, and to her family and friends, to whom she seems to be hurrying on unnecessarily. The milestone into "middle age" is even more moveable. Nowadays a woman may say to herself at forty, "I suppose after this I shall be middle-aged," but she does not take any steps to announce it in her dress or her activities, and she probably says it again, with similar results, at forty-five and fifty and—who shall say how long? As for old age, in the traditional acceptance of that term, both men and women have repudiated it.

The period of life which we are now to consider begins, then, at the end of youth, when the young man and the young woman, brought to the threshold of maturity—of body, mind, and soul—by the affectionate, sympathetic, and intelligent nurture of the family and the state, is ready to assume the *toga virilis*, to become an active participant in the economic and social and political life of the community, no longer primarily a consumer and a

beneficiary, but henceforth producer as well as consumer, contributor as well as beneficiary. If the conditions which we have found to be necessary for normal infancy, childhood, and youth have been met, our normal population arrives at manhood in physical vigor, untainted by disease, by indulgence in vice and idleness, unweakened by overwork, with minds and muscles and ideals trained for efficient work and efficient home life.

THE ADULT POPULATION

The first time you look at the chart of the population of this country by ages you will be surprised. What will puzzle you is that there are more children two years old than one, and that there are about as many alive at twenty, at twenty-five, and even at thirty as there were at one and two and five. We know that a lot of the babies did not live to be a year old, that there were many deaths before five, and some—though a smaller number—at every year afterward.

What an extraordinary pyramid this is—or rather a pyramid on top of a prism—which does not begin to show any effect from deaths until nearly middle age! The explanation is, of course, simple —immigration.

If you take the pyramid of native-born only, it tapers off normally enough, fewer at every age than in the group below; in our whole population, however, in the years of childhood, adolescence, and

early maturity the deaths are compensated, mathematically speaking, by the arrival of immigrants. The net result is that we have actually at twenty, and very nearly at thirty, as large a population as at one, and even after forty it does not taper off as rapidly as it would if we did not have ready-made boys and girls, ready-made men and women, coming in all the time.

Because of immigration, then, we have, especially in the northern cities, an abnormally constituted population. This helps to solve some problems and makes easier in certain respects the task of social construction. It makes our civilization richer by the content of the varied racial and national contributions. It makes society industrially more productive because of the excess at the working ages. The ebb and flow of steerage passage to the Mediterranean help to furnish an elastic labor supply as well as to solve the problem of "cheap labor," speaking from the point of view of those who consider cheap labor desirable. But immigration adds also to our problems of crime, of exploitation, and of maladjustment. Recent immigrants are more easily sweated, crowded, underpaid, defrauded. They make necessary much work by the government simply because of their misunderstandings and mistakes, and because of our mistakes and misunderstandings of them.

PERMANENT REGISTRATION

Taking our population as it is, the first serious task of social construction is to make it possible to know more about it.

Our national count we make once in ten years, with supplementary studies from time to time carried out by the permanent census bureau which our government now boasts. Thus we have decided that it is not a sin to be counted at regular, not too frequent, intervals. It was not always so.

You remember how it was in the days of David and Joab, as the story is told in Samuel and in Chronicles. In his old age David was tempted by Satan to have the number of his people counted. He told Joab to have it done. Joab was much astonished. "Now the Lord thy God," he said, "add unto the people, how many soever they may be, a hundred fold, and they will all be there just the same, whether you count them or not—no fewer and no more. Why do you want them numbered?" His idea seems to have been that it was fighting edge and a good cause and the Lord's sanction—not numbers—that counted. Nevertheless, David's word prevailed. After nine months and twenty days Joab got the census taken, finding that there were eight hundred thousand valiant men in the armies of Israel and five hundred thousand in those of Judah. Chronicles makes it a round million instead of Samuel's eight hundred thousand, but

that comes nearer than some current official counts and estimates of the size of armies.

As soon as it was done David's heart smote him and he knew that he had sinned greatly and done a great iniquity and had been very foolish. When he had his choice of three penalties, seven years of famine, or to flee before his enemies three months, or a three days' pestilence, he chose the last—as any modern king would have done—and seventy thousand perished. And then David bethought himself—as any modern king might not have done—to take the blame on himself, and said: "I was responsible for that census. What have these sheep done?" And so he made a sacrifice and was forgiven.

When the suggestion is made that the time has now come when we in this country should all be officially registered, with our finger-prints, and with a constantly corrected address, every birth, every removal, and every death being reported under penalty of the law, the proposal is apt to be greeted perhaps much as the king's impious proposal was greeted by Joab. We of free English traditions, with our touchiness as to personal liberty, are apt to feel that any public record, even of the fact of our existence and where we are, much more what whorls our finger-tips may please to sport, is a gross infringement of inalienable prerogatives.

Yet it is so, that the basis of a sound comprehensive policy of social construction demands more

certainty than we now have—demands a general registration of the whole population, stationary and shifting, native and immigrant, sick and well, feeble-minded and strong-minded, criminal and law-abiding, new-born and moribund, legitimate and illegitimate, of school age and of fighting age, rural and urban, industrial and professional, infant, child, youth, and adult.

We already have various kinds of registration under federal, state, municipal, or voluntary auspices: such as registration for voting, registration by charitable agencies, the school census, and the registration of land titles. One can easily count more than fifty different registrations, each affecting a very considerable part of the population, and overlapping one another in a most extraordinary degree. Replacing some of these and perfecting all of them, there should be one complete official registration of the entire population, accessible to all who have legitimate occasion to consult it, serving the purposes of health, education, police, election inspectors, tax assessors, county clerks and sheriffs and other public officials, and also such voluntary agencies—churches, lodges, charitable societies, tradesmen and others—as have occasion to know the whereabouts and the family relationships of their customers or applicants or members, as the case may be.

Several countries in Europe have some such complete and constantly corrected registration of

the whole population. It has shown its utility in war; and, what is more to the point, it has continuously shown its value for more than a generation in peace. Beginning with any federal census year, when the whereabouts and the social status of the whole population are known, it would only be necessary to distribute the original enumerators' schedules to some local census authority, probably the health department, and for the latter (after transferring the information presumably to 5 x 8 cards) to provide for keeping up the record by incorporating the reports of births and deaths, already required, and securing reports of removals as they occur. If a finger-print accompanied every registration, and each person were supplied with an identification card containing his name, date of birth, and finger-print, the system would be complete.

The operation of election laws would be simplified by a complete, constantly corrected, registration; thousands of persons arrested for petty offenses, now thrown into jail, could be allowed to go until the time set for the hearing, for they could always be found when wanted if they failed to appear. School attendance, school planning, the enforcement of child-labor laws, would all be simplified. No honest man would have anything to lose by such a registration. Homeless, irresponsible people might not get the full benefit of it, but all would reap advantages innumerable from the wiser

plans which could be based upon it. If those who do not at first like the idea will let it sink in, digest it by thinking about it in relation to social problems, they may come to realize how harmless it is, how fair it is, how democratic it is, how much less expensive than it seems at first sight because of the other registrations it would save or simplify, how much it would contribute to a policy of social construction. It is a problem of maturity in the sense that heads of families would be responsible for the registration, voters would have to authorize it, able administrators would have to work out the details of it, and it takes a somewhat maturely social-minded citizen to consent to it.

THE PROBLEMS OF MATURITY

The two big universal normal interests of both men and women in the early years of maturity are work and home. They are in a sense rivals. We have been regaled by the conceit of a wife's suit for separation based on the alienation of affections by a defendant called the day's work. There are other important interests, of course, for all: participation in political life, for example, or church activities, or going to lectures. But for most of us such activities do not compare in immediacy of interest with our activities as workers and as heads of families. These other interests are absorbed in the two great interests, or incidental and subordinate to them, even when they are fully recognized and appreciated.

Work is popular in America. The necessity which pushes us is not external, but internal and welcome. We hardly have a "leisure class" at all of rich or aristocratic idlers, in spite of the best efforts of "society reporters"; and at the other end nearly every one can earn a living and is willing enough to do so. Ninety-seven per cent of the men between twenty-one and forty-five years of age were reported by the census in 1910 as "engaged in gainful occupations," and over one-fourth of the women.

As we have already seen, a great many of them had not waited for the age of twenty-one before going to work. Some of them began at ten and even earlier. Between sixteen and twenty-one, four-fifths of the young men and two-fifths of the girls were employed—eighty per cent and forty per cent, respectively; a larger proportion, that is, of the girls under twenty-one than of the women over that age. Young women in the early twenties have a way of transferring their big normal permanent interest from work to home; young men have also, but their best way of showing the interest in their home is to take more rather than less interest in their work.

The proportion of idle men does not vary appreciably in different parts of the country, the largest number being five per hundred in Vermont, North and South Dakota, and the District of Columbia, and the fewest (2.2 to 2.5 per cent) being

found in Mississippi and Alabama, South Carolina, Wyoming, and Rhode Island. The most industrious population of women—although it may be better to use strictly the language of the census, since housewives, who are not included among those engaged in gainful occupations, are well known to be the most industrious of women—the largest proportion of women gainfully employed are in South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, and other southern states. This is explained by the large number of Negro women, nearly all of whom are reported as employed. In Massachusetts thirty-nine per cent of the women from twenty-one to forty-five were gainfully employed, and by contrast only about fifteen per cent in West Virginia, Oklahoma, Idaho, and New Mexico.

THE UNEMPLOYED

It is the usual thing, then, as well as the normal thing, for American men in the first half of their mature years to be employed—sufficiently, at any rate, to be counted among the workers by the census enumerators. Not all of them, however, are employed steadily, or as much as they would like to be, and there are some abnormally situated individuals who either do not work at all or who are seriously underemployed.

Some of these are quite normal, after all. They are still "pursuing" that coy creature, an education; or they are taking a year off for travel and

recreation; or they are, here and there in rare instances, deliberately leading the life of a scholar or an amateur of some art or devoting themselves to the service of the public in some way or other, the only difference between them and many others being that their useful activity is not brought into the market. It may be said in the same way that the great majority of the "unemployed" women are so only technically, being in fact economic producers, or performing even more valuable economic functions than production in the strict sense, by their management of whatever income is brought into the home. Since the values which women in the home add to the goods we consume, and the services they render, do not pass through a market they do not receive a money valuation.

Among the abnormally unemployed are first the really idle rich: those who are not dependent on their own exertions, who would answer to one part of the definition of vagrancy—that they are without regular employment—even if not to the other —that they are without visible means of support; who, in consequence of their natural tastes or the character of their education, prefer indolence or morbid pleasures to rational activity. Happily these are few, and the application of better methods of education to the children of the rich will gradually eliminate most of them.

More numerous, unhappily, are those who are not able to do anything for which the world is

willing to pay, or who are not able to make connections with an employer who could use their services. Those who are unemployed because they are unemployable, through physical or mental defect or illness, or lack of training and guidance, we may hope to see reduced to a mere handful, and no social problem, after we have done even for one generation the things which we have seen to be essential to normal childhood and youth. Voluntary and compulsory industrial and farm colonies, with work in shops and work on the land, will be among the necessary means of bringing about a reduction in the number of unemployable. For the really degenerate, unteachable, and unresponsive to discipline there is nothing for it except segregation,—employment at public cost under direction,—but we must approach that solution with patience and minds open to the evidence which is slowly accumulating.

The unemployable are thus separable by careful scrutiny into two wholly distinct groups of (1) subnormal, unteachably inefficient, and (2) those who with opportunity and instruction can become employable.

But, besides all these, there is in almost all parts of our country, in good times as well as in periods of depression, a very considerable number of employable, capable persons in need of work who are not actually employed. Among the causes of this unsatisfactory failure to make use of usable labor

force are immigration and migration from place to place within the country, fluctuations in the demand for certain commodities and services, the seasonal character of certain occupations, the variable fortunes of particular employers, especially of large employing corporations, the absence of adequate agencies for diffusing reliable information about conditions in the labor market, and the lack of a satisfactory system for classifying workmen and work according to their essential abilities and requirements, respectively, rather than according to superficial and accidental characteristics.

Whether or not the labor force of the entire country, viewed as an undifferentiated abstraction, is more or less than is needed, or exactly the amount that is needed, to perform the work which at a given moment is waiting to be done,—the work being viewed also as an undifferentiated abstraction,—is a question of pure academic speculation, such a problem as would have delighted the mediæval schoolmen.

The labor force of the country cannot in reality be looked upon as one huge office staff or factory force or industrial army which can be assigned and distributed, according to the aptitudes of the workers, on the one hand, and the demands of the work, on the other, by some competent directing genius. Nor is the work to be done one huge comprehensive enterprise, like the Panama Canal, which can be planned from a central office with no regard to any-

thing except efficiency and an economical application of the labor force and plant.

An infinite number of influences takes the place of the directing genius, counteracting, compensating, supplementing, correcting, and limiting one another in an infinite variety of ways, with the result that the industry of the country, taken as a whole, seems more like an exceedingly sensitive living organism than like a department store or a canal contract.

These various influences, however, have not yet succeeded in bringing about as much of an adjustment as is desirable. There are certain communities, especially the large cities, in which there is some surplus labor most of the time, while in other communities at the same time there may be an urgent demand for both skilled and unskilled labor. In periods of depression, such as the present winter, the unemployed gather in the cities, swelling this surplus to serious proportions.

REMEDIAL MEASURES

To bring about some sort of adjustment at such times some immediate relief measures are necessary. One of them is an expansion of the work of the ordinary relief agencies. Prompt and liberal relief in cases of actual distress is appropriate at all times, but especially in times when distress is augmented by unemployment. Carefully managed loan funds—pawnshops, chattel loan socie-

ties, and even loans on personal character without any material security—are a valuable means of helping those who do not often or easily bring themselves to apply to charitable agencies. Special benefit features in trade unions, including loans to be repaid, with or without interest, are especially helpful in such emergencies. Employment at modest, but not too modest, wages in community workshops for the making of bandages, cobbling of shoes, and carpentry jobs, and the more thorough cleaning of streets under the direction of the regular municipal authorities, are illustrations of beneficial emergency measures. They have their drawbacks and weak spots that need watching, but they do lighten the hardships of the unemployed and interfere in the least imaginable degree with the resumption of that kind of industry which prosperity ushers in. Such emergency measures may meet the immediate need, but something more wide-reaching and permanent is needed also.

A series of efficient employment bureaus throughout the country, organized to supply accurate information about conditions and to analyze employees and positions, with facilities for intercommunication and publicity, could do a great deal toward matching up the unemployed with opportunities for work, and should be established.

The problem is not entirely, however, a problem of matching up in this way. On the whole, it may be that we have about as much mobility of labor as

is desirable. "Labor" seems to find a way to flow around very freely. Greater discrimination as to the direction it should take would be a gain, and this the employment bureau can help to supply. Absolute fluidity of the labor force, however, though theoretically desirable from the point of view of the labor market considered an abstract and isolated phenomenon, is hardly a goal to propose for our efforts. There are social advantages—economic, too, in the long run—in a certain degree of stability of population. Theoretically, the Baltimore operators on men's clothing who are thrown out of work in their dull season in September might find work at their own trade in Chicago, where this industry is at its height at that time; or some of the Washington lumbermen and loggers who are idle in January might be welcome just then in Maine. Probably individuals here and there do make such changes to decided advantage. But that several thousand, in each of many trades, should do so regularly every year, between all the important manufacturing centers of the country, whether they migrated back and forth as families or individuals, would hardly be feasible, and would be demoralizing if it were. The chief service of employment bureaus probably lies in making adjustments of workers to jobs in their own locality, between different plants in the same industry, and between industries needing workmen of similar qualifications.

Unemployment insurance, for which a demand has become articulate this winter, makes for stability of labor, and it can probably best be organized, as it has been in England, in connection with a national or state system of employment bureaus, since through these bureaus there will always be reliable information as to whether there is or is not employment to be had and whether, therefore, the insured is or is not entitled to an out-of-work benefit.

SEASONAL TRADES

Among the conspicuously seasonal industries, some are necessarily of this character, and it is difficult to see how they can be made more regular. Canning and preserving, for instance, to consider only certain manufacturing pursuits, must be done when the fruits and vegetables are ripe. It is not surprising that only thirteen per cent as many persons were employed at this work in January as in September, and that most of these thirteen per cent were probably not identical with the September employees in the same industry, as they were mainly occupied with fish and oysters. Sugar and molasses must be made when the beets and sugar-cane are ready and when the sap runs in the maple trees. Logs must come out of the woods when streams are open. Rice must be cleaned and polished after the crop is in. Less than half as many people are making artificial ice in January as in July. Bricks should not be laid in freezing

weather, and building operations are affected, though not entirely determined, by weather conditions. The building trades are seasonal, but are subject to most erratic fluctuations, depending upon general prosperity, housing laws, the money market, real estate speculation, and the foresight of builders.

Other seasonal industries owe their irregularity to fashion, to the prevailing desire, for example, which seems the one fixed principle of fashion, for an entire change in the style of clothing at least twice a year, and to other habits and customs against which the economist and the hygienist may rail and which subtle psychologists only can adequately expound. Manufacturers must wait until styles have been decided upon and then they must get out their samples and early stocks in time for the opening of the retail season. And so only two-fifths of the maximum force employed in making straw hats is needed in July, in which seemingly untimely month the felt-hat makers are entering on their busy season. Confectionery is at the height of its season in November; "statuary and art goods" in September—both no doubt to be forehanded for the Christmas trade. The number of persons employed in providing some of the permanent and fundamental needs of human life—such as bread, boots and shoes, hosiery and knit goods, coffins, firearms and ammunition, printing and publishing and steel pens, silk goods and cotton

goods—does not vary greatly from month to month in the aggregate, though even among these industries individual establishments no doubt see serious fluctuations.

Irregularity in those seasonal trades in which the disturbances are due to fashion and custom might, within narrow limits, be influenced by education; but it is not a high social ideal that would adapt man to industry rather than industry to man, and so if it satisfies, as it seems to, an ineradicable and not very much modifiable want of man to wear the uncomfortable stiff felt hat in January, and the inadequate stiff straw hat in August, we shall have to say, as we say of seed-time and harvest, that it is a question of planning to meet things as they are.

Within narrow limits again something can be done by governments—national, state, and municipal—to carry on public construction of various kinds at such times and in such ways as to compensate the more extreme fluctuations of ordinary trade conditions. But if very much were attempted in this direction, an impossible burden of expense would be added to taxes, for governments in industry, after all, are subject to much the same conditions of weather and finance as private investors.

The chief hope of a better adjustment in essentially seasonal trades lies in that more flexible adaptability in the worker which has already been

urged on educational grounds, and which stands him in good stead in the ups and downs of prosperity in his particular occupation; and in deliberate preparation by individual workers in seasonal trades for an alternative supplementary trade whose seasons may be expected to dovetail. In this direction vocational guides and employment bureaus can help.

RESPONSIBILITY OF INDUSTRY

Industry itself should shoulder the responsibility for bringing order out of the chaos of unemployment, irregular employment, underemployment, and employment at tasks for which the worker is adapted neither by nature nor by training. There is altogether too much waste—pecuniary and human waste—in the existing maladjustments. Mayor Mitchell recognized the reasonableness of this demand when he made up his committee on unemployment this winter largely of the officers and directors of large industrial, railway, and banking corporations, instead of social workers and ladies at large. Judge Gary, of the steel corporation, is its chairman, and other men of large responsibilities in industry are associated with him. They have been expressly asked to consider not only relief workshops and bundle days, loan funds and relief funds, but also such large, more permanent, and more serious questions as the lessening of seasonal and irregular employment or adequate

preparation for it, unemployment insurance, and the distribution of labor under ordinary conditions. I do not know how far they will get with these larger aspects of their problem, but it is something, at least, that the public is coming to expect investors, directors, and officers of corporations which employ the great bulk of the industrial workers to give the same close and continuous and effective attention to labor problems and their results as they have presumably given to financial policies and their results.

WORKING CONDITIONS

Fortunately, however, for all of us as consumers, most of us as workers are, after all, at work most of the time, and social construction concerns itself inevitably even more with the conditions of work than with those of enforced idleness.

Of child labor we have already said enough. We will have none of it. As to the employment of older girls and boys, we have also said as much as is necessary, perhaps, but builders of the social structure will have to give this subject their very earnest consideration. From fourteen to twenty work should not crowd out education. The one should dovetail into the other, so that the health, the character, and the future life-long efficiency of the young people will have adequate safeguards. In a rational social organization the work will be done by adults, not by adolescents; by the grown

up, not by the growing up. Of course, keeping children and youths out of work is not enough. The main thing is to prepare them for work later on and for life.

Women in industry also need special protection and the kind of liberty that rests upon a solid basis of physiology and anatomy, of racial security and welfare, of consideration for the interests of the family and of children yet unborn, rather than the negative and dangerous kind of liberty which employers and their lawyers sometimes invoke in behalf of women—the unlimited liberty of individual contract. Laws limiting the total number of hours of women's work in a day and in a week, restricting their employment at night and in physically injurious occupations, represent a sober consensus of public opinion originating largely with women; created, sustained, and justified by women; but accepted also by competent medical authority, by lawmakers and courts, mostly represented by men. It is a subject which does not involve disputed issues of suffrage or feminism, save as some may think that women as voters might be able to push such measures more vigorously. The principle has certainly been established already that it does not contravene the constitution or the rights of individuals to protect women in their own interests and in the common interest from night work, injurious work, and overwork.

ACCIDENTS

Another problem still unsolved, but now receiving very active consideration, is that of compensation for deaths and injuries to workmen in the course of their occupation. To a far greater extent than was just or reasonable we have in the past thrown the cost and hardships of such industrial injuries on the injured workmen and their families. They have had their chance at a lawsuit for damages, but they have had to show that the employer was liable—was responsible for the accident by some personal fault or negligence on his part. If the injured or killed workman was contributorily negligent, or if a fellow employee was negligent, or if it was due to an ordinary risk of the trade which the employee was supposed to know about, he might get nothing at all, even though disabled for life. Such barbarous laws and practices survived here long after they were changed or abolished in other civilized countries, but of late there has swept over the country a realization of their injustice and iniquity which has led to the gradual introduction of a new principle. Compensation, reasonable in amount but immediate, and assured, generally, from some sort of insurance fund, previously collected by law, is taking the place of employer's liability at law. The successful introduction of the compensation-insurance principle in place of the liability principle, making the financial burden of deaths

and injuries a charge on the industry to be distributed to consumers, instead of a charge on the families of the workers, is a clear triumph of elementary justice over artificial law, of the coöperative over the exploitive principle. It is as an incident of such legislation that "safety first" and "boosting for safety" campaigns have been inaugurated. Factory inspection by the state is all very well and is necessary, but constant self-inspection by officers, superintendents, foremen, and operatives is the only kind of inspection that will prevent accidents. If the insurance rate which a given establishment has to pay is fixed by an association of which that establishment is a member, and fixed according to the actual risk, as determined by safety devices and efficiency of management, the safety devices will be installed and the management will tend to become efficient.

THE WORKING DAY

Whether laws should directly prescribe maximum hours of labor for adult men is an open question. Probably the prevailing sentiment is against it, on the ground that through trade unions and voluntary agreements the long day can be shortened and the short day maintained. There are advantages in the voluntary principle, as we have seen in other connections, when it works. If it fails to work,—if under the voluntary principle men are continuously and outrageously overworked so that

their working life is reduced, their power to maintain a home and family life impaired, their leisure destroyed or poisoned by fatigue toxins until they have no capacity to use their free time; if standards are fixed by a cheap boarding-house contingent of unmarried immigrants or by any native stock so demoralized and exploitable that self-respecting workingmen who have families to support in decency and comfort cannot compete with them,—then a fair case may be made out for a limitation of the voluntary principle and the establishment of a maximum working day by law. This has already been done to a large extent as far as employment on public work is concerned, even to some extent when this is done by private contract.

Whether law is needed to establish and maintain a minimum standard as to overwork, or whether this can be left to the operation of free contract between employers and employees, is a question for evidence. In one industry it may be necessary and in another not. However sincere our preference for non-interference, we are coming to have a stronger preference for conserving life and health and character, and those managers of industrial enterprises who prefer to keep their management in their own hands will do so most easily by seeing to it that the hours are reasonable according to present standards of what reasonable hours are.

Science has come to the support of human welfare once more in this very connection by a more

thorough investigation of physiological effects of fatigue. It has been discovered that there is a fatigue toxin, an actual poisoning substance manufactured in the blood when there is prolonged muscular exertion or strain or severe nervous tension. We may hope that science will stop there and not produce an antitoxin, for it is disturbing to think what some manufacturers might be tempted to do if they had an anti-fatigue toxin which could be hypodermically administered at the end of the eighth or tenth hour. If there were nothing but physiology, that might be all right. We might imagine the work being done by half as many workers, working all the time, their fatigue germs slaughtered as fast as they appear. But there are other things. Leisure is needed, not merely to counteract fatigue germs by the germicide of rest, but also to enable a man to get acquainted with his children and to round out his life. A reasonable amount of fatigue, quickly compensated, is beneficial and not pathological, but industry is to be so organized in the day of sound social construction as to keep all workers well within the safety line.

SANITARY CONDITIONS

Industry should be carried on also under sanitary conditions. Light and air and occasional relaxation from severe strain, such as speeding processes impose, are as elementary as freedom from unnecessary accidents or a too prolonged working

day. Sanitary conveniences should be supplied voluntarily by owners and managers, compulsorily if necessary. Running water for drinking and washing, soap and clean towels, a sufficient number of clean and decently protected closets, such arrangement of benches, when workers sit at their work, or of places to stand, when they stand, as will prevent breathing or coughing into the faces of one another, are coming to be among the essentials of the standard of factory conditions.

There are certain occupations, such as those involving the use of lead and of phosphorus, and those which are carried on under atmospheric pressure, in which there is an extraordinarily high risk of poisoning or other physical injury. The utmost protection against exposure to such risks, and reasonable compensation for such injuries and infections as cannot be or are not prevented, is in line with the spirit of compensation laws and safety campaigns.

HOME MANUFACTURE

Industry is good, and family life in the home is good, but under modern urban conditions they do not belong together. In the old days, before the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century, industry was ordinarily carried on in the home. There were no factories or factory towns. There were no mill hands or mill bosses. There was no steam or electric power. There were no railways

or steamboats, now an integral part of our industrial system. For this change we need not go back to some remote age about which we know only through legend and inference, but no further than to the time of Franklin and Washington, or even later. There are those still alive who belonged for a time to that smokeless, noiseless era when industries were mainly carried on within the domestic circle, although for its completeness we must travel farther back, to the time when all had a fixed status and freedom of contract had no meaning, or a very different meaning from that which modern English and American law has given it. Those times are long since gone; but we have not yet adjusted our laws, practices, and ideas to the conditions resulting from the industrial revolution—or the successive industrial revolutions, for there have been many, so many that perhaps we shall some day in a better perspective see that they are stages in a gradual evolution.

The broad fact is that the modern home is no place for manufacture. When materials are given out to be made up, for example, in New York tenements, the result is that the family is virtually deprived of the meager space for which a relatively high rent has been paid as a home. The manufacturer may save rent by this species of very distinct exploitation, and that may cheapen the goods to the consumer, though again it may not. What is especially objectionable about it is that the in-

dustry virtually escapes that frequent and rigid inspection on which the health, safety, and comfort of workers depend. The enforcement of child labor laws, of restriction on the hours of employment, of sanitary regulations, are practicable in factories, but in tenements or other dwellings any such inspection and enforcement are so difficult and expensive as to be impracticable. If, therefore, we are to have standards at all for the protection of workers, it is virtually necessary to establish the principle, which at first seems rather repugnant to us, as an invasion of private affairs, that manufacturing—such industries as cigar-making, garment-making, candy-making, and nut-picking—shall not be carried on in private dwellings, or at least in rooms ordinarily used as bedrooms, kitchens, or for other domestic purposes.

MINIMUM WAGE

Society has gone so far in regulating working conditions as to take an official and controlling interest in fixing the age at which the youth may begin work, the hours during which women may work, the light and air and sanitary conditions to which workers are entitled while at work, the protection against accidents from machinery or other foreseeable causes, and compensation for such accidents as do occur. It is a question of fixing certain minimum standards corresponding to the accepted

ideals of the community as to what is right and decent and reasonable in these respects.

The mind of man, of socially minded man, when it begins working on problems of this kind, presses steadily forward from one point to another until at last it reaches the central kernel of the matter. That central kernel in industry is not hours, or danger from accidents, or sanitary conditions, but the daily or weekly wage. Shall we then attempt to fix wages, as well as hours and safety and sanitary conditions? The subject has recently been investigated by several state commissions, and is now under consideration by others. Australia began fixing wages in sweated industries nearly twenty years ago, and England has recently followed suit, taking up one industry after another—chain-making, paper-box making, lace-making, tailoring, mining, and others. The ordinary procedure is to create wage boards on which employers and employees are represented, to inquire into the wages actually paid and their adequacy to sustain life and a reasonable standard of health, comfort, and welfare. In England and in Australia these findings, when approved by competent authority, are binding in the industry and in the district covered by the inquiry.

Oregon has enacted a similar law, and its constitutionality is now being tested. Massachusetts has proceeded more cautiously by providing for an investigation of alleged sweated industries and the

publication of the findings of the commission, not making it, however, legally binding on any particular employer. The idea is that when the facts are fully known and officially attested, public opinion will compel the payment of a voluntary minimum wage sufficient to provide for a reasonable standard of living among the wage-earners concerned.

The chief arguments against minimum wage legislation are: (1) That it is better to leave the issue of wages to voluntary bargaining, trusting to trade unions to protect the interests of workers, lest the minimum wage tend to become the average or standard or even the maximum wage; and (2) that to forbid employers to pay less than a certain amount—say nine dollars a week—is to throw out of employment altogether those whose services are not worth that amount. Neither of these arguments need detain us long here, interested as we are in fostering the normal life. Those whose services are worth less than the low minimum likely to be fixed by any such law should be out of employment, either receiving a training which will make them worth more, or, if unteachable and subnormal, then cared for on some plan which will keep them properly occupied under direction in a hospital or colony appropriate to their particular need. I think the responsibility for supporting subnormal persons who cannot earn a low minimum wage should be definitely assumed, if necessary, by the state, until they can be graduated into self-support.

The operation of minimum wage laws elsewhere does not justify the apprehension that the minimum wage tends to become the standard. Sometimes such a tendency is apparent, but usually the influences determining the wage contract operate freely above the plane fixed by the law.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

All these matters affecting wages and the conditions of industry, and many others which we cannot discuss, involve what are known as industrial relations, i. e. the relations between employer and wage-earner. Those relations are sometimes disturbed by strikes or lock-outs, and they are rendered acute by boycotts and blacklists. Our governmental and voluntary machinery for settling disputes has long been felt by thoughtful students of industry to be defective. Force, on the one hand, and violence, on the other, have revealed its weaknesses. Some dissatisfied workmen use dynamite, and society properly visits upon them its severe condemnation. Other dissatisfied workmen—justly dissatisfied workmen—refuse to use violence, and have the greatest difficulty in getting any hearing whatever or any redress for their grievances.

Realizing these things, realizing them very keenly at the time of the Los Angeles dynamiting confessions a few years ago, a group of social workers and economists secured, by act of Congress, the appointment of a Federal Commission to investigate

industrial relations, industrial unrest, and to devise means for maintaining industrial peace on a just and equitable basis. That Commission is still in existence, and it would be premature to offer any comments on its work. Whoever solves the problems entrusted to it by the government of the United States will make a most important contribution to the normal life of man in America.

V
MATURITY: HOME

THE HOME

Having discussed some of the social problems of adult life centering in industry, involved in the activities of men and women in earning their living, we have next to ask what conditions are needed to assure a normal home life and what circumstances—especially what modifiable circumstances—are interfering with its full realization.

We may notice, by way of preface, that marriage is popular in America, as well as work. Even among the young people twenty to twenty-five years of age about half the women of the nation are married and about one-fourth of the men. By the time they get into the thirty-five to forty-five year age-group only seventeen per cent of the men are still single and only eleven per cent of the women; and at sixty-five and over the men have caught up with the women, and there remain only six per cent of each who have never married. The proportion of single persons is lower in the United States than in most foreign countries. Furthermore, the census figures seem to show, contrary to the prevailing impression, that in all classes of our population (i. e. census classes, according to color and nativity) a larger proportion of the younger

people are marrying now than was the case twenty years ago, and that this increase is sufficient to affect the proportion in the total adult population. Thus, if the marriage rate may be taken as an index, the tendency in the United States seems to be increasingly in favor of establishing homes.

In other words, notwithstanding the growth of cities and the rise in the standard of living which operates to delay marriage, notwithstanding the immigration of unmarried men and women, notwithstanding all the influences which are supposed to be undermining domesticity and dissolving home life, the proportion of the adult population who describe themselves as married has actually increased in twenty years, and, as the census bureau sagely remarks "very few persons are ignorant of their own marital condition."

STANDARD OF LIFE

What kind of homes they shall be—whether normal or abnormal—depends largely upon our standard of living: that spiritual atmosphere, that indefinable force, compounded of income and what we buy with it, ideals and tastes and the environment provided by our fellows, which is something more than the sum of its parts, something different from any of them, a power to which unconsciously we defer in every choice we make, and which we frequently invoke to sustain arguments or justify general policies.

When this standard becomes consciously idealized, when it has become ingrained in the habits and instincts of a group of people, when it extends to activities as well as to pleasures, when it operates to fix the age of marriage, the hours of the working day, the issues of war and peace, of life and death, of the here and the hereafter, we may justly call it the standard of life.

The greatest national asset of any civilized, enlightened, prosperous, and progressive people is the standard of life of its adult population. Undigged minerals and soils and water power and harbors, accumulated capital in manufacturing plants and road-beds and rolling stock, native shrewdness in bargaining, native energy in labor, acquired knowledge of the arts of industry, are all of less significance, less fundamental importance, than that complex, subtle, intangible reality—the standard of life of the working people.

Trade unions exist mainly to protect the standard of life. When laborers in some great conflict seek to show that their cause is just because the low wages against which they protest are not sufficient to maintain their standard of life, they make, if they are sincere, the one irresistible appeal to which every patriot must pay heed, the appeal by which, if their evidence is sufficient, they will best be justified in the long-range view of human welfare. If war or industrial depression or irregular employment or famine or pestilent epidemic or demoraliz-

ing poor relief or the luxurious indulgence of vice breaks down the standard of life, this is for civilization its one real disaster, retrievable, it may be, by long and painful effort, but very probably not in the same nation or community. Such a disaster is not easily retrieved. Earthquake or flood or fire or defeat in arms may be but a slight disaster in the larger perspective of history, but any force which reaches the inner standards of the people, their ideas as to what manner of life they should lead, has a cumulative and incalculable effect on all their future welfare.

This standard of life, however, fortunately is not determined mainly by wars or famines or any other external accidents. It is the direct product of that good inheritance, that healthy infancy, that protected and sufficiently prolonged childhood, consecrated to education in its broadest sense, that youth spent in the upbuilding of sound character, that rational organization of the occupations into which the young enter at the threshold of maturity, that attention to the conditions under which the wealth of the world is produced and distributed, which have occupied our attention as we have dwelt upon the successive stages in a normal life.

Tainted, corrupt, diseased stock should be eliminated if by any means it can be done: if for no other reason, because it lowers the standard of life of all whom it touches in the family either to cor-

rupt or to burden. Sickly babies should be made strong, bottle-fed babies nursed at the breast, that the physical basis for a high standard of life may be laid secure. Children should be informed and disciplined, made strong and fit for life in ways thought through deliberately with the end in view of maintaining the highest standards to which men have risen, and creating the conditions which will lead to the spontaneous, inevitable realization of higher standards still. These things are implied in all those policies of social selection, protection, nurture, and adaptation which the interests of the unfolding normal life of man require.

Now, however, we may think of the standard of life as exhibited in the normal family household, in the home where man and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, in mutual interdependence live the life which the passing generations have made possible for them.

WISE USE OF INCOME

The first essential to a normal standard of living is an adequate and regular income, earned preferably by the male head of the family, without assistance from his wife ordinarily, never with the aid of children; earned without exhausting the worker's strength prematurely or exposing him to unnecessary dangers from accident and disease.

The second essential is that this adequate income

shall be adequately used, and for this the housewife has normally the main responsibility. To woman, by an evolutionary process, has fallen the task of directing how the wealth brought into the house shall be used, whether much or little shall be made of it, what values shall be added to it. The woman at the head of a household is as truly an entrepreneur, if we may drop into the terminology of economics, as her husband at the head of a factory; she is as truly a producer of wealth when she broils a chop or washes the dishes, thereby increasing the utility of those commodities, as is her son when he helps build a bridge or repairs a drain-pipe or blacks some one's boots. Of still greater importance is the contribution she can make by determining a wiser consumption of wealth, not only by choosing more intelligently each separate article of food and clothing and furniture, but also by bringing about such a relation among all the different material elements of the home that the result is a harmonious unit instead of a haphazard assemblage of necessities of life. The person who arranges and groups commodities in such a way that their combined utility is greater than the sum of their separate utilities performs an economic service which is of equal importance, at least, with that performed by the one whom we call technically a producer. Browning seems to think that it is only in music that this principle applies. The rapt composer, thrilled by his own conceptions, his ability

to make something wonderful out of sounds meaningless in themselves, taken separately, cries:

> And I know not if, save in this, such gift be allowed to man,
> That out of three sounds he frame, not a fourth sound, but a star.

Every housewife does things quite as wonderful. Improvements in consumption which bring about greater harmony of combinations, and consequently actually create a sort of surplus value, hold the greatest immediate possibilities for advancing the general prosperity. In other words, and to be concrete, household management deserves and will repay, even from the point of view of the national welfare, the application of the best brains and the best-educated brains of the land.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF SOCIETY

Under normal conditions, however, the wisest housewife, with an adequate income, is apt to be thwarted in her attempts to provide intelligently for her household unless society does some intelligent planning on its own account. Even in the daily marketing there is scope for social coöperation, now that our market-gardens extend from Key West to Halifax, and our poultry yards reach beyond the Mississippi. The cheapening of sugar, the development of cold storage transportation, and the invention of the art of canning fruit and vegetables have transformed our diet, but safely so

only if the government inspects the canned goods, debars authoritatively poisonous preservatives, and makes the labels tell the truth.

Take the fundamental matter of choosing a home, the physical dwelling-place of the family. For the great majority of families choice is restricted to houses that have already been built by some one else. Where they have been built and what kind of houses they are has been determined not with reference to the needs of the people for homes, as such, but by the real estate system, the tax system, the transportation system, and other things resting upon laws and the administration of laws, all of which have ordinarily had in view business interests, civic interests, perhaps, in a narrow and short-sighted sense, but not the welfare of the average family. The way in which the streets of the city were originally laid out has its influence, and mistakes need not be repeated in newer parts of the city or in new cities. The transportation system is generally a "system" by courtesy only, being made up of a number of unrelated ventures, undertaken for private gain, and of most unequal and frequently uncertain social value. Factories have been located primarily with a view to the immediate interests of the business, not for the effect they might have in bringing about a healthy and desirable development which would bring permanent advantages to the individual manufacturer as well as to the rest of the community. When we have

concerned ourselves with town planning and the transportation problem at all, it has been rather for their relation to business, commerce, industry, and civic centers, than for their bearing upon the character and location of the homes of the people.

In a sound program of social construction the streets and parks and car-lines will all be looked upon as elements in the problem of domestic housekeeping. Transportation facilities will be developed, actively and consciously, into an adequate system, making it possible to get quickly and comfortably from home to work and back home again, and opening a variety of different residence districts to persons employed in the same establishment. Factories will be located in accordance with a consistent plan, based upon consideration of social welfare and worked out with scientific wisdom and prophetic insight. The city will be divided on what is called the zone system, not necessarily into concentric zones, but into districts suitable for its geographical contour and social needs, for the purpose of securing diversity in the character of buildings in the different zones, discouraging speculation in land, and preventing the duplication in outlying portions of bad conditions already established in the center. Specific legislation will insure, furthermore, that all buildings intended for homes—all congregate dwellings, at any rate—shall have certain minimum requirements which have come to be regarded as essential.

The primary function of the home is to give protection, privacy, and security. The modern city home gives excellent protection from rain and snow and lightning, and relative security from robbers. In the tenement flats of the large cities, however, its minute dimensions make privacy within its walls almost impossible, and it affords but scanty protection against the vice and contamination that may be housed on the next landing or next door in the alley. It exposes its occupants to worse enemies than the weather, in the unseen germs which it shelters, until it actually seems, as an inspector of the New York Board of Health reflected in 1842, and as health conditions in the refugee camps in San Francisco suggested in 1906, that it might be preferable to be "absolutely houseless." It is a fact that after the destruction of the homes of San Francisco by the great fire and earthquake the death-rate and the morbidity rate were astonishingly reduced.

Because of the seriousness of the evils which developed under the *laissez-faire* system of providing houses, and because the individual can to so limited an extent influence the kind of house that he is to live in, since a house once built will almost certainly be occupied by some one, the principle may be said to be established that it is a duty of society to make it impossible for any of its members to live in houses below a minimum standard prescribed by law. In many places now the laws en-

sure that all tenements which are built shall be model tenements, i. e. shall be practically as good in the essential features of light, ventilation, sanitary conveniences, security from fire and other similar dangers, as the dwellings erected but a few years ago, partly from philanthropic motives, and called "model." On no other subject perhaps have we gone so far in putting into the form of laws or ordinances our social standard as we have in some cities on the subject of housing; and this is well, for the character of our domestic life is enormously influenced by the character of the houses in which we live. Think, for example, of the tremendous social and economic effects of such minor features as a garden, an attic, a cellar (with a cellar-door for a slide) and pantries, fences and a gate to swing on and a post to sit on, and roofs and verandas, to say nothing of more serious matters, like the size and number and arrangement of rooms, ventilation and water-supply, and fire-escapes.

POSITIVE INFLUENCES ON HOME LIFE

Before our discussion runs, as it inevitably must, into the destructive influences menacing normal home life, it is expedient to emphasize once more the positive resources for creating an affirmative home life, that we may not draw the mistaken inference from these discussions, that painstaking defensive measures against the dangers represent the best social tactics.

There is no sociological recipe, so far as I know, for family affection: for that continuing and ever strengthening love of man for wife and of woman for husband, without which there is no family in the true sense; for that, if need be sacrificing, but in any event always uncalculating, love of parent for offspring, and that reciprocal attachment of child for parent which, beginning in physical dependence, may ripen into a conscious loyalty matching mother love itself; for all those natural ties, as we rightly call them, of brother and sister and other relations, extending into collateral lines indefinitely according to circumstances, sometimes farther than consorts with the immediate economic welfare of the individual, so that a young man or even a young woman may at times obey a sound instinct when he goes into a far country for the express purpose of getting away from his family and escaping from their traditions.

Common religious interests are among the strongest influences to support, develop, and maintain these natural domestic relations. The family altar is not so often outwardly visible in the modern home,—partly perhaps because rents are high, —but unless there is set up in the hearts of children a reverence for things really held sacred by the parents, one of the most ancient and the most essential of intangible family bonds is broken.

Economic equality within the family, amounting to the communistic formula, "From each ac-

cording to his powers, to each according to his needs," is another foundation stone of family solidarity. We accept that principle within the family as axiomatic. All the income is, of course, for the benefit—the wisely and justly apportioned benefit—of the whole family. If differences in education are made among the children, it is because of some real or assumed differences in their aptitudes, or because of changed conditions. Girls and boys share equally; eldest sons have no rights of primogeniture; youngest sons no exclusive claim to affection. The welfare of each, broad-based in the welfare of all, is our ideal, and even the persistent attempt at a practical realization of that ideal becomes a bond of union among the members of the family. No doubt that ideal fails in practice often from miscalculation.

Such failure will be less frequent when the practice of budgetary standards becomes common, displacing the haphazard spending of whatever is in sight without regard to future or even present competing needs. As incomes increase, families have it in their power to pass over from forced standards to deliberately planned budgetary standards. On the lower plane they pay for rent, food, and clothing, more or less what they must. There is no margin for long-range planning, for saving and investment, as in building and loan societies or life insurance, except for burial expenses. On a higher plane of income many families continue just

the same method of expenditure, not having adjusted their psychology to their earning power. Any American skilled workman or office man, with an income of nine hundred dollars a year or more, can ordinarily plan his budget on a monthly or annual basis, or his wife can do it for him if she has the chance, as, of course, she should; and such careful planning of expenditure, such matching up of expenditure to income, taking account of common family needs, and also of the changing individual needs of its individual members, will become a bond of union and strength in the family household.

Common interest in the physical and mental development of children, from the day of birth, through infancy, kindergarten, school, apprenticeship, college, professional school, wherever the destiny of the individual guided by parental care and encouragement and all other complex influences may lead him, is another such factor of family union. What subject is so engrossing in the family circle, what elastic and invisible bond so secure as the sharing of anxieties, the triumphs of such an interest as that of the education of the growing members of a family? Common household possessions, family parties at the theatre or elsewhere outside the home, or within its circle, and all the multitude of miscellaneous socializing experiences,—each makes its special contribution towards that unique and indissoluble whole, the home life of the family.

Pride in family traditions may be good or bad. Often it is neither, but a rather harmless, sometimes amusing, artificially maintained satisfaction in doing things a little differently, in saying things a trifle otherwise, keeping up a distinction between the family and the neighbors, not so much because it is of any advantage to the family as because it may bother the neighbors.

INTEMPERANCE

Let us now turn to the pathological aspects of adult life in the home.

Among the vicious habits which impair or destroy normal family life none other compares in devastation with the appetite for strong drink.

Alcoholism is no doubt sometimes an inherited taint, the outcropping of a degenerate germ plasm, certain to take some form of mental or nervous instability—if not inebriety, then some other less or more harmful. Sometimes it is no doubt a disease, even if not inherited, akin to insanity. Sometimes, no doubt, it is a mere weakness of the will, an indulgence in pleasure, like overeating, or extravagance of any other harmful kind.

Primarily, however, when considered in its effect on individual and family welfare, alcoholism is to be looked upon as a habit, easily formed under favoring conditions, easily prevented at the outset under favoring conditions, beginning often, not always, in youth or early manhood, increasing by

easy stages, undermining gradually economic efficiency, the sense of family responsibility, personal and social standards, creating fleeting delusions of power and resourcefulness for which there is no substantial basis, and leading on, just as temperance reformers have always said, straight to destruction, physical, economic, social, and moral.

Bad associations and good advertising lead most often to the drink habit. The light and warmth of the saloon, its convivial sociability, its wide-open hospitality, its omnipresence where it is present at all, its business-like efficiency for its own ends, its brilliant advertising signs, its substantial backing by distilleries and breweries, by journalism and politics, and the feebleness of its competitors in the kind of social service which it renders, are surely enough to account for the steady supply of victims in the early stages of this pernicious habit. The elimination of the saloon does not eliminate the inheritance of degenerate racial stock or strengthen weak wills or insure temperance as a positive virtue. But it does prevent or diminish the temptation to form the alcoholic habit. It does increase the chances of normal development, through adolescence and early maturity, of those who have begun life fairly and come through childhood safely.

An entirely dry community, i. e. one from which alcoholic beverages strong or mild are deliberately barred, is a new experiment in the world. In modern times the experiment is very modern indeed and

hardly yet tried on any such scale, or for any such period of time, as gives a sure indication of its success. Thoroughgoing, courageous experiments of this kind, however, of which we are witnessing the most magnificent instances in the Russian Empire and in France at this moment, are congenial to the progressive spirit of the modern world. If the use of intoxicants is ancient, so are the evils inherent in their abuse. If normally strong men have withstood its worst ravages, yet in all ages men of average strength have succumbed to it: their lives cut short in disease by its complications; their families deprived of normal guardianship and income; their standard of life kept miserably low, and all their creative power destroyed. It is not merely degenerate weaklings who have been victimized by strong drink. The average man has suffered a more tragic, because needless, injury from it. For the great body of the working population the disappearance of this particular temptation to wasteful expenditure and harmful indulgence is unqualified gain. For their wives and children it is gain immeasurable. For their descendants in the third and fourth generation it will be compounded gain, unqualified and immeasurable.

Whether the elimination of the saloon, and all its illegal substitutes, should be by prohibitory law or by the steady pressure of public opinion and the corresponding increase of restrictions on its manufacture and sale, may be open to question. It would be a victory on a higher plane if strong drink

were to be overcome by the voluntary growth of temperance principles. All the reasons for refraining from indulgence in strong drink are equally strong reasons for not indulging other vicious appetites and it might seem safer to save the young men altogether from carnal temptations. There are numerous measures short of prohibition which are genuine temperance measures; and on a high plane prohibition itself is not one. It is too primitive, too naïve, too direct, too crude, to be called by so moderate and restrained a term as temperance. But this crude directness, this writing into the law of a downright conviction, if it is not diplomacy or education, is at least legitimate warfare and religion. It is an impatient short cut with an old and nasty foe. Like the Palmer-Owen bill to prevent child labor,—which just failed of passage in Congress and probably will pass another year,—it does the business. And we can surely sympathize with the determined reformer who says that he is weary of pleading with boys and men not to fall into the net which plotting villains spread in plain sight before the eyes, when it is practicable to gather in the nets once for all and break them like playthings in the hands of strong men. There is no need to keep temptations needlessly about for the sake of developing character. All that are required to develop strong character will remain after we have done our level best not to lead men into temptation but to deliver them from evil.

Intemperance is but one, though the foremost, of the evil habits which undermine the home. Laziness, shiftlessness, improvidence, quarrelsomeness, extravagance, sensuality, greed, jealousy,—every human emotion or instinct may be perverted to an evil habit, breaking down the normal life of the individual at work and in the home.

CRIME

Homes are destroyed, or heavily burdened, when their adult members commit criminal acts. We have besought clemency in judgment and opportunity for reform on behalf of juvenile delinquents, nor should we be harsher in judging the moral quality of adult offenders. Literal observance of the injunction not to judge, if by that we mean any final or authoritative condemnation of individual men and women, is the only rational attitude of society towards the so-called criminal. But, as in the case of juvenile offenders against the law, restraint and correction, education for the corrigible, and hospital or custodial care for the incorrigible, are not to be regarded as evidences of moral judgments. It is not sentimentalism, such as is exhibited in short terms and a failure to convict criminals, that is required.

Modern penology rests upon the theory of social defense; and reformatories, which are educational institutions, and hospital colonies for mental or moral imbeciles, are its reliance, when probation

and other preventive measures of a milder sort have failed. The prison, conceived as an institution for inflicting punitive vengeance, is already as obsolete as the whipping post and the gallows. Experience has shown that they are not deterrents but that they are demoralizing to the society which cherishes them. Within the broad theory of social defense there is room for many divergent views as to the best way of suppressing or eliminating crime. There is the theory of the Italian "positivist" or "scientific" or "biologic" school, that the male criminal and the female prostitute are born degenerate, and bear physical stigmata by which we may in time expect experts to separate from normal citizens those who need special treatment appropriate to the criminal class, whether they happen to have committed definite crimes or not.

The idea is not new. De Quiros mentions a mediæval edict ordering that in case of doubt between two suspects, the one showing more deformity was to undergo torture; and there was a member of the Medici family who reserved final judgment until the criminal had been examined physically and then said, "Having seen your face and examined your head, we do not send you to prison, but to the gallows." The idea is not new, but it is not true either. What is true about it is the principle that the offender should be treated according to his nature rather than according to his specific offense. A competent physical and psycho-

logical examiner can tell us something about his nature and so lay the basis for a more intelligent regimen. Courts should not fix sentences. Judges are neither physicians nor teachers. Their machinery is not adapted to the making of a curriculum or the prescribing of a course in corrective hygiene. Criminal court procedure is admirably adapted to discovering whether the right man has been caught and whether he has committed some offense of which society must take cognizance. When this has been done the decision as to how the offender shall be treated, whether it is fitting that he should remain normally in society or be temporarily or permanently secluded, and on what terms, if at all, he shall gain social rehabilitation, should be made by an entirely different authority, with wholly different machinery and resources at its disposal.

Some such reorganization of penal law and criminal procedure is in the air. It is still far from a reality. An assistant district attorney in New York, after indicating this sounder theory, pessimistically adds: "Be that as it may, vengeance and not public spirit is still the moving cause of ninety per cent of all prosecutions for crime." So, as in all other social problems, we have something to work for. What we have to do is:

> First, to socialize the police, changing their point of view to that of prevention, and when an arrest is necessary, to the laying in each case

of a sound basis of fact for a final and logical disposition of each case when it comes to court. In other words, not necessarily a conviction, but such investigation of all the circumstances as will lead to appropriate action, is the test of honest and efficient police work.

Second, to socialize the courts. This is a process long since under way. Among its landmarks are probation, suspended sentence, indeterminate sentence, specialized courts, such as those for children, for women, and for domestic relations, and night courts, and better records, with finger print identification. These landmarks are not the thing itself. Socialization lies in the spirit of procedure of which these institutions are but the outward symbol.

Third, to socialize the prisons, which means, as prisons, to abolish them altogether. Logically obsolete, they are still very much in evidence and many of them are conducted on the principle shamelessly announced some years ago in the Prison Congress by a warden who said: "These men are sent here for us to punish and it is our business to punish them as much as possible." A system of probationary fines might enable many to remain with their families while still receiving necessary discipline; and the earnings of those who are imprisoned, as experiments have already demonstrated, might be used for the partial support of their families.

DISEASE

The high death-rate of early infancy from congenital causes and intestinal infections is followed,

as we have seen, by a relatively low death-rate in the years from five to twenty, though health has remained a prime object of solicitude at every period of life. From this point on mortality and morbidity increase.

Most tragic of all diseases of adult life are those which cause the alienation of the mind. Insanity does not often afflict youth, but from the beginning of maturity through old age it is one of the sinister influences operating to break up homes or to interfere with their establishment. There were one hundred and eighty-eight thousand persons in the hospitals for the insane on January 1, 1910, two-thirds of them between the ages of twenty-five and fifty-five, with an average age for all of forty-five. The sixty-one thousand admitted during the year were somewhat younger, as would be expected, the bulk of them being from twenty to fifty, and their average age forty-one. In proportion to the population of the same age, the number of patients admitted increases rapidly up to the age of fifty, and again after seventy, with a stationary or slightly lower ratio between fifty and seventy: i. e. except for these two decades, liability to insanity increases steadily with advancing years. Fortunately, over half of the insane men and over a third of the insane women in hospitals are unmarried. Widows and widowers constitute a rather larger proportion of the insane than of the general population; and the proportion of divorced among the insane is

twice as great for men and three times as great for women as it is in the population at large.

In the thirty years between 1880 and 1910 the insane in hospitals increased more than fourfold in actual numbers, and their ratio to the population was more than doubled.* The greater part of this increase is only apparent and represents causes for congratulation: additions to hospital accommodations, improved methods of care, greater skill in detecting insanity, greater willingness to entrust to institutions persons formerly cared for at home. There probably has been, however, some real increase in the relative amount of insanity, as there has been in suicides, along with the development of urban centers and other accompaniments of progress which have not yet been thoroughly adjusted to the needs of the normal life of man. This tendency may be counteracted, and a further decrease effected after the increase has been checked, by establishing all along the line those normal conditions of work and living which are desirable for many other reasons as well. For, as Dr. Nathan Allen, of Lowell, said at the second meeting of the National Conference of Charities in 1875:

> This cannot be the fruit or result of *true civilization*, but comes from something wrong—some artificial habits, some unnatural, unwholesome way of living, some false and corrupt state of things in society.

* 1880: 82 per 100,000; 1910: 204 per 100,000.

By way of confirmation it may be mentioned that ten per cent of the patients admitted in 1910 were reported to be suffering from "alcoholic psychosis" and over six per cent from general paralysis, which is indicative of syphilis.

It will be necessary to enlarge still further our hospitals for the insane and to increase still more our expenditures for this, already the largest single item in some of our state budgets. Diagnosis, and curative and hygienic treatment based on the diagnosis, are the great needs. The interval between the recognition of the disease and admission to a hospital or a psychiatric clinic, already comparatively brief, must be made briefer; and the interval between its onset and its recognition must be cut down to a minimum by medical skill and enlightenment of the general public; oversight of the patients who leave the hospitals recovered or improved (eighty-two per cent of those discharged) must be provided for a probationary period, in order that dangers of relapse may be warded off; and continuous oversight of those who are discharged unimproved, as long as there shall be any such. Above all, perhaps, or at any rate under all, is needed the patient education of nervous children and young people in habits of emotional control, and the protection of all from such a degree of stress and strain as the normal mind can not reasonably be expected to stand.

Of early mature life the great scourge is, of course,

tuberculosis. The principles of the world-wide campaign against this leading cause of death are far too familiar to need recapitulation. It is in all ways a health campaign. Its gospel of pure air and sunlight, plain and substantial food, cleanliness, abstinence from the use of stimulants, early diagnosis, and rest from injurious occupation, has certainly been one of the chief elements in the general sanitary progress of the past two decades. The enthusiasm which the anti-tuberculosis campaign has aroused is no doubt largely due to this fact, that nearly all its features of which the lay public takes account are equally features of almost any health campaign. Consumptives should not live in damp basements or in dark interior rooms. But who should? Consumptives must have plenty of milk and eggs. But for whom are those delicious articles of diet not appropriate? Consumptives must be helped to get out of dusty trades, overheated shops, work requiring a stooping, chest contracting posture. But for whom then of the children of men are such conditions beneficial? Consumptives should not spit promiscuously, for reasons often carefully explained. But is any other desiccated, pulverized sputum a welcome addition to the air we breathe? Consumptives should be cleanly, conscientious in not endangering the lives of others. Are those not universally desirable virtues? Alcoholism is a dangerous complication in tuberculosis, but it is also a dangerous complication in life.

This is not to suggest that there is no differentiation, from the medical point of view, in the specific treatment of tuberculosis and other diseases. Of course there is, and one of the valuable features of the tuberculosis campaign is its insistence upon sanatoria, clinics, laboratories, and other specialized equipment both for research and for relief on lines already fully established.

Typhoid, pneumonia, malaria, rheumatism, colds, and headaches all interfere with normal life in the home, as, of course, also with incomes and efficiency at work. Elementary policies of social construction demand consideration of each, to examine how they may best be controlled, how their economic and social effects may be reduced to a minimum and most judiciously distributed. They are not private, personal matters, but social phenomena. No man has a right to have a headache even, if society can prevent it, much less typhoid, pneumonia, a cold, or any other communicable disease. The rights of others are involved in so many ways that the most unsocialized egoist must recognize that his diseases are affected, as the lawyers say, by a public interest.

Most of the diseases to which I have referred are germ diseases, to be attacked by the weapons of Pasteur and Koch. There are other diseases which in contrast with these more acute infectious diseases may be called degenerative or chronic diseases, such as hardening of the arteries, cancer,

Bright's disease, and organic diseases of the heart. Referring to this distinction in an address before the American Public Health Association in December last, Professor Irving Fisher made this generalization:

> When we analyze the nature of the present improvement, we find it due chiefly to a decreased loss of life from infection before middle age *in spite of an increased loss of life after middle age from degeneration.* There is thus a race between two tendencies, a reduction in the infectious diseases and an increase in the so-called degenerative diseases.

The increase in the diseases of later life is to be accounted for partly by the decrease in the diseases of earlier life. If we do not die of diphtheria, scarlet fever, or measles, we survive to an age in which we are likely to die of cancer and arteriosclerosis. If we do not die of tuberculosis in early manhood, the vital organs have a chance to wear out. To be sure it is not to our credit that they wear out prematurely, and the time has apparently come to concentrate on personal hygiene some of that same kind of attention that we have given to sanitation. There is no need to diminish the one in order to increase the other. Probably the next great step ahead in the protection of public health is the working out of some plan by which every person shall be periodically examined. The Life Extension Institute presents one plan to carry this

idea into effect. Health Departments may come to offer such examinations free to those unable to pay for them.

The philosopher Dooley makes his favorite character, Dock O'Leary, complain that he is not a very muscular man and that "some of the windows in these old frame-houses are hard to open." "He says the more he practises medicine th' more he becomes a janitor with a knowledge of cookin'. He says if people wud on'y call him in befure they got sick he'd abolish ivry disease in th' ward except old age and pollyticks. He says he's lookin' forward to th' day whin th' tellyphone will ring and he'll hear a voice sayin', 'Hurry up over to Hinnissy's; he niver felt so well in all his life.' 'All right: I'll be over as soon as I can hitch up th' horse. Take him away f'm the supper table at wanst.'"

Sickness insurance, taking the form, so far as wage-earners at least are concerned, of social insurance under state control or supervision, is the approved modern method of distributing the financial burden of sickness. England and Germany have both developed very complete and successful, though very different systems of state sickness insurance. We shall have to work out the problem on somewhat different lines from either, probably adopting some of the features of each; but work it out we must in our own way, for the hardships and

inequity of our present lack of system in this matter will not long seem tolerable.

Sickness insurance seems to me a more pressing problem in this country than old age insurance or unemployment insurance, more necessary than mothers' pensions or any other form of public relief. It should cover, as it does in European countries, maternity insurance and life insurance on an ampler scale than our present industrial insurance companies provide. The expense should be divided between the insured and his employer, who will have the same opportunity to pass his part on to consumers in the form of slightly higher prices that he has in the case of compensation for accidents. If necessary, the state can assume a part of the cost, as the prevention of sickness and the distribution of its burdens is properly a public function.

Sickness insurance does not of necessity mean sickness prevention, but it is easy to unite the two harmonious and closely related policies into a consistent policy of sickness insurance and prevention. A Federal Health Department, vigorous state Health Departments, even more energetic and well supported local municipal and rural health boards, all engaged in a well-knit campaign of prevention and education, will be outward and visible signs of that public health ideal of which sickness insurance is another normal expression.

DIVORCE AND DESERTION

Disease and crime and bad habits are abnormalities which even in their milder forms interfere with normal home life. They may go so far as to destroy it altogether, or at least to mutilate it by removing one or the other or both of the heads of the family, leaving the remnant to go on but haltingly if it keeps together at all. Disease may result in premature death. Insanity or crime may leave wife or husband worse than widowed.

Family bonds may be broken by the abrogation of responsibility, through divorce or its informal substitute, desertion. Divorce is increasing rapidly in the United States, and so steadily, over the forty years for which records have been studied by the Census Bureau, that what is called by a sort of grim humor a "normal rate of increase" for a five-year period has been computed. It is an increase of thirty per cent over each preceding five years, and that is much faster than the population is increasing. The real significance of these figures is revealed when we learn that of every thousand marriages in existence in 1880, two were dissolved during that year by divorce; in 1890 there were three; in 1900, four. This is a far higher rate than is found in any foreign country for which data are available, with the single exception of Japan. Hard times is the only influence which has a visible effect in checking this tendency. After each of the

financial panics or industrial depressions the increase was retarded or cut off entirely for a year or two, though it leaped ahead faster than ever after prosperity had been restored. This may be due partly to the sensitive response of the marriage-rate to unfavorable economic conditions, resulting in fewer new marriages and consequently fewer opportunities for divorce than there would have been under normal conditions. It suggests also, however, that considerations of economy may have had a bearing in postponing the necessity for maintaining two establishments in place of one; and further, that the pressure of economic problems may operate to put in the background the indulgence of emotion and trivial personal grievances.

In so far as this increase in divorce is merely a writing into the official records of transactions which formerly were carried on without reference to laws or conventional standards, as is probably true of large parts of the Negro population, it is not an unhealthy symptom. In so far as it represents open, frank adjustment of relations which under harsher laws would have been adjusted *sub rosa*, it may not be undesirable. In so far, however, as it is due to a light assumption, and an equally light repudiation, of family responsibility, it represents, as does desertion, its substitute in classes of society with less regard for conventions in such matters, a grave menace to normal home life. Of the two, desertion is probably the graver problem,

because of the evasion of financial responsibility which its informality favors. Efforts should not be spared—intelligent, resourceful efforts, including any necessary expenditure of money—to find deserting husbands and fathers and exact of them to the utmost the fulfillment of their obligations. A desertion bureau is coming to be as necessary as a marriage license bureau. The principal safeguard, however, against this danger which threatens the home lies not in laws or courts but in that fundamental education, that direction of character in youth, to which we have had so many occasions to refer that it may seem a monotonous refrain.

WIDOWHOOD

Widowhood in itself is not necessarily a social problem. On the contrary, it is the normal consequence of marriage, and must ordinarily be the experience of either husband or wife for at least a brief period at the close of life. More often it is the wife who survives, both because she is usually younger than her husband, and because women have profited more than men by the general improvements which have been reducing the death-rate. Ordinarily, too, it is probably better for the family that it is the mother who survives.

Widowhood which comes prematurely, whether to husband or to wife, at the beginning or in the midst of the normal course of life, is, and has been from ancient times, a matter of serious social con-

cern. There are comparatively few widowers under forty-five years of age, and over sixty-five there are less than half as many widowers as widows. Among girls fifteen to nineteen years old one in five hundred is a widow. The proportion increases to eight per cent among women thirty-five to forty-four; twenty-one per cent at forty-five to sixty-four; and fifty-eight per cent among those above sixty-five years of age.

Most widows, like most widowers and most unmarried adults of both sexes, in this country normally take care of themselves or are taken care of by their relatives. But many widows who are suddenly called upon by a husband's death to support themselves and several little children, without assistance, are unable to do so because in their youth they have had no training, because the occupations open to them—such as sewing, cleaning, washing, housework—are abominably unorganized and generally underpaid, and because there are few well conducted employment and intelligence offices to direct capable applicants to desirable positions.

The charitable societies and churches and overseers of the poor have been coming but slowly to realize what are the essentials of constructive relief giving, how serious are the dangers to health and to child-welfare of an inadequate income and a low standard of living. My own conviction is that there should be a recognized and organic relation

between the death or chronic disabling illness of the father of a family and the provision made for the support of the family during a period—often, when there are young children, a prolonged period —of readjustment to new conditions. If a man is killed or disabled at his work, for example, the industry should provide a substitute for his wages, as the compensation laws now provide. If he dies from disease, there should be an insurance fund, to which he himself and his employer and the state may all have contributed in just and reasonable proportions, so that the expenses of his illness and the care for a time of his wife and children may be met by a fund which represents some sacrifice and saving, some thrift and foresight, on his own part.

With such compensation laws and social insurance of sickness and death in full operation there would be comparatively few widows who could not manage their own difficulties, with the natural help of friends and relatives. Those few could be helped by private charity or by public relief as each community prefers, and the public relief might be called widows' pensions if that term is preferred, though there is something inherently dishonest or naïvely childish in all such attempts to disguise a transaction by giving it a different name; and money paid from the public treasury to meet individual or family needs will remain what it has always been, whatever it is called. The answer

to the old puzzle as to how many legs a horse has if you call his tail one, is not five but four.

Premature death is the great social tragedy whether it occurs in adult life or in youth or in infancy. The widowhood and orphanage and the bereft parenthood which are its deep scars are but the scars after all, the evidences of the tragedy, not the tragedy itself. The prevention of accidents on railways and in mills, the prevention of tuberculosis, the prevention of typhoid and malaria and the hookworm disease, the prevention of rheumatism and colds and headache and all their disabling sequelæ, the prevention of cancer and of those other diseases of later life about the causation of which so little is yet known,—these are still the big campaigns of social work.

Divorce and desertion, intemperance and crime, insanity and disease, widowhood, overcrowding in tenements and alleys, unemployment and irregular employment, uncompensated accidents, sweating and exhaustion from overwork, disaster, in a word, from exploiting industry on the one hand and from broken homes on the other, are the tragedies of maturity, as neglect is the tragedy of infancy, the lack of nurture of childhood, and the perversion of character of adolescence. The aim of normal life is to anticipate and prevent these tragedies. The aim of social work is to mobilize the forces of society for honest, straightforward, persistent, comprehensive attack upon them as pathological ab-

normalities which no self-respecting society will ever deliberately tolerate.

THE FUTURE OF THE HOME

The typical home which occupied the center of our attention just now has wonderfully changed in its outward physical aspects in recent years. Hospitals, kindergartens, restaurants, and factories have taken over on a large scale functions once performed in the home. Society has organized somewhat on horizontal levels, taking children as well as adults out of the home for some activities, some enjoyments, some mere conveniences for which our fathers had no parallels. We even hear of a defensive parents' league, a sort of trade union to withstand what are felt to be the unreasonable demands of school and society on the time of young children.

How are these changes as a whole affecting the home? Are they making it perhaps superfluous? Are they destroying its unique character, transforming it into at worst a mechanism for perpetuating the race, and at best a high class boarding-house or a sort of club in which a few congenial but by age rather ill-assorted people preserve the vestiges of an obsolete institution?

A closer analysis will lessen such apprehensions. What is it after all mainly that the home has lost by the revolutionary changes so much in our minds? Mainly disease and noise and dirt and drudgery.

The factory and the office are better places in every way for active work than the home was ever. A well-managed hospital is often if not always a better place to be sick in than a family sleeping room, especially if the illness is serious, requiring medical attention and nursing. The theatre and the motion-picture are after all more entertaining than backgammon and puzzle pictures. The rivals of the home are rivals in very limited spheres. Its unique sphere remains untouched, the more distinctly its own because of the specialization of functions. Home is not a boarding-house but a complex of relations, physical and spiritual, which were never more beautiful, more enduring, or more ennobling than in the modern family. Romance has not departed from it, though a clearer recognition of ethical obligations has come into it. Religion still creates its atmosphere, though it is a milder, freer, healthier religion than the austere faith of ancient Rome or that of the Mosaic law, both of which have made such a lasting impress upon the family.

We may look to the transforming, emancipating influences of the future without apprehension. The family will survive, and the home will survive as its habitat, the more wholesome and the more efficient for all the new resources of civilization; for the normal and not the abnormal is the fit to survive.

VI
LATE MATURITY AND OLD AGE

FULL MATURITY

All periods of a normal life are good. As the tale of life now runs we may put the twenty years of full maturity, and therefore of greatest usefulness, from say forty-five to five and sixty.

For one who has a zest in life and believes in progress it is the years just ahead that are always the best. We do not expect the infant to be looking eagerly toward the twenties, or the school-child to wax enthusiastic about middle life, or the young man to be dreaming about what he will do in the sixties; but to those who are no longer normally dreaming the dreams of childhood and adolescence, who have reached years of discretion, upon whom the responsibilities of life are beginning to have a sobering influence, and who at least in their own children's eyes seem to be fully grown up, there comes a new vision to take the place of childhood dreams, a less blinding vision it may be, a little more closely related to the serious thoughts of waking hours, less flighty, less romantic, less ridiculously impossible; and yet a vision still, a revelation springing from no fleshly logic, but spiritual, ennobling, seeking out the inmost nature, the utmost strength, the lowest layer of the will; a vision

of the latent possibilities of a mature life, based upon the foundations of sound infancy and childhood, a wholesome youth, and well spent early manhood: a vision tinged still with emotion, with the evidence of things hoped for, the substance of things not yet seen, but to be seen on earth if it be His will—His will as expressed in personal hygiene, in sanitary control, in the social protection of a normal environment.

For this period of full maturity, then, let us claim some twenty years or so—not to fix too closely an arbitrary limit at the farther end; make it three score and ten if you like instead of sixty-five, before you acknowledge old age, or by reason of your strength make it four score; but save me a few years for old age proper, of which I am not speaking at all now, before the body of our normal life is reduced again to normal dust.

Years do not of themselves bring judgment, or stability of character, or that respect and confidence of fellow-men on which the greatest opportunities depend. Years do not of themselves restore health squandered in profligate living. Years do not bring economic prosperity, or a high standard of living, or scholarship, or power of leadership, or creative power of any kind. The years are but the groove along which our lives may move if there is propelling power to move them. The more the plane of that groove inclines upward, the loftier its goal, the greater is the energy necessary to

attain it, or to move at all in the direction of that goal.

Assuming such vital energy, entrusted once, forty-odd years ago, to the tiny nucleus of a cell, we assume also that it has been released to vitalize the vibrant body of a child, nurtured and disciplined, increased and treasured and put forth to return again, multiplied ten, a hundred fold with the passing years, pushing into forbidden paths but retrieved with penalties, directed again toward useful and ever higher ends, exercising the fingers and hand of the man, the eye and the brain of him, the physical powers, the moral powers. The normal man has had freedom and opportunity, but he has had also the discipline denied to "privileged," pampered individuals. He has had to work, or at least has worked, and has learned by experience the common lot. Male and female he has worked and lived through forty years of education, preparation, partial failure, trial and failure, trial and success, and achievement. Does it seem likely that his achievement, her achievement, has more than begun? Old age at forty may be a melancholy fact—is a melancholy fact—of certain industries. That fact is a bitter indictment of those industries or of the conditions associated with them. Men may be worn out at forty, but not if they have had normal inheritance, have lived normal lives, and have not been subjected to abnormal conditions in their work.

From now on, the normal man—or woman—if an author, may write his best books; if he has been a politician, he may become a statesman; if he has been a pedagogue, he may become a teacher; if he is engaged in research, he may become a scientist; if he is of a thoughtful turn of mind, he may become a philosopher; if he has magnetism, he may become a leader; if he has a turn for business, he may become a financier or a captain of industry. Those who have begotten and borne children become in the full sense fathers and mothers of those children as they reach the age of full maturity and the children are growing up under their watchful care. It is now that artists should paint their best pictures, poets write their great poems, scholars produce their *opera magna*, preachers convert the heathen and edify the faithful, blacksmiths hit their hardest and surest blows, gardeners cultivate their most superb roses, firemen and policemen be most ready to risk their lives and lose them least often, physicians and surgeons command most completely the confidence of the sick and disabled and deserve it most, bankers and directors of railways and industrial corporations stand highest as stewards of great trusteeship and, to express it modestly, run least risk of criminal prosecution.

In none of the great fields of usefulness, from manual labor to the highest levels of intellectual creation, is there any valid presumption that maxi-

mum efficiency is normally reached under forty or that it should show appreciable diminution under sixty or sixty-five.

PROLONGATION OF WORKING LIFE

The prolongation of the working life is a social ideal, quite comparable in definiteness and in the strength of its appeal to that prolongation of childhood which education and physiology alike demand. The one is indeed the natural corollary of the other. Childhood is prolonged in its protection, its postponement of wage earning, its spontaneous freedom, both for its own sake, because that is the natural, the normal, the human, the God-like way to spend the years of childhood; and also because that is the natural and usually the only guarantee of a prolonged and effective working life in the years of maturity.

Work in adolescence, on education's terms only, not for gain but for development and preparation, leads to the capacity for work later on for the sake of the product, for the productive efficiency which is a natural, an irresistible expression of human energy, just as recreational activities, the more passive and receptive occupations, are a natural expression of a capacity for leisure.

Our ideal is that in the skilled trades, in industrial pursuits of all kinds, and in agriculture, the active working life of man shall be prolonged until there are or might be grandchildren, until the

youngest sons and daughters are grown, and the older ones are more like partners and comrades than like children, with established occupations and homes of their own, into which, if it seems wise, the retiring laborers may come at last as honored guests, or, especially in widowhood, as welcome members of the household, full of years and honor and respect, no worn-out broken wrecks of industry, but hale and hearty still, moving in and out with dignity and a just consciousness of honest, strenuous, useful work, cheerfully undertaken, regretfully relinquished, and now worthily transferred to the broad shoulders of competent maturity in the next generation.

The prolongation of the working life is desirable from the employer's point of view. It means a longer time to realize on the initial investment in training. It means fewer changes, better relations, a steadier labor force, fewer strikes and misunderstandings, less animosity, more loyalty. It is even more desirable from the point of view of the workers themselves and their families. Whether they work for wages, as at present the vast majority of industrial and clerical workers do, or, as they may in a day of more industrial democracy, on some coöperative plan for themselves, it is advantageous to be able to work for forty years instead of twenty. To the individual and his family there is an economic and a moral loss when the purposes of education and nurture are thwarted by a tragic

breaking down of health and efficiency at middle age. For the individual himself, whatever his vocation, sex, or station in life, there is more than a mere arithmetic gain when a few years are added to the period of the working life. We study with appreciation and pleasure the lengthening span of life as a whole, but most significant of all is the lengthening span of its active, vigorous, productive period. For, constituted as we are, there is a pleasure directly associated with work—with the putting forth of creative energy—which is unique, which is wholly denied to the invalid, to the valetudinarian. This is not to cast slurs upon the compensating pleasures which they may be so fortunate as to discover. We are to have a place—a large place—in genuine old age for those pleasures also; but, like those of every other stage of normal life, they must bide their time. Prematurely anticipated, they crowd out keener, more appropriate experiences, which, if lost when they are due, are lost forever.

The expansion of the working life is not to be one of empty duration. To be of value, it must be of more than one dimension: longer in years, deeper in productive efficiency, broader in variety. We demand a working life fuller in return to the worker, more remunerative, and entitled to the greater remuneration because more productive, freer from dangers and fears and uncertainties, taking a greater share in planning, directing, and determin-

ing the conditions of industry, transforming laborer into capitalist, entrepreneur, and owner of natural resources—not necessarily, not even probably, by revolution or violence, but by evolutionary development, which may be more rapid and more sure than revolution, by emancipating education and conscious social construction.

Early or easy realization of the ideal of a prolonged working life will not come of itself. Industrial evolution seems to be moving in the contrary direction. Invention in the arts has outstripped invention in social policy. Long hours, a seven-day week, the constant strain on nerves and muscles in tending machines, the minute subdivision of labor, the inconsiderate application of efficiency tests, the speeding process, the setting of the pace and rhythm by power-driven machines instead of by the natural movements of human beings, the cunning shift from time-wage to piece-wage and back again in such a way as to extract the last ounce of energy from labor; the growing appreciation of swift deftness, of springy alertness, of plastic adaptability in industry; the disappearance of the individual worker from the conscious knowledge of the employer through his submergence in mere numbers and the more impersonal and arbitrary estimate of his usefulness which naturally follows; the increasing bitterness and intensity of labor controversies; and the relative increase in the number of industrial wage-earners

in the population, whose working life is shorter than that of clerical, professional, and agricultural workers—many of the large outstanding facts of modern industry point to an earlier rather than a later old age. And yet these facts are all wrong and the ideal will prevail over them. We shall come to understand these stubborn facts of industry and change them. We shall eliminate the dangers which industry has developed. We shall increase physical resisting power. We shall cut down hours, bring in more leisure and variety. We shall adjust industry to man and install some system of human audit by which the effect of industry on physical and moral well-being can be accurately judged, by which its essential nature, not as a source of dividends, but as occupation for rational living men, can be evenly and continuously appraised.

When the question arises as to how these things, which we have so clearly failed to do, are to be done, there is no new answer. We may pin our faith to the various means by which we have made progress already; for there are other facts of industry than those to which we have just referred. We rely first on trade unions and the principle of collective bargaining which they represent. When a prominent banker at a public hearing recently expressed ignorance as to what collective bargaining is, and made an equally naïve and refreshing acknowledgment, when it was explained to

him, that it looked like a good thing, he was not, after all, more than a few years behind a great many employers who have been finding out to their surprise that a bargain made by an association of employers with an association of employees has many advantages and does not necessarily or even probably mean disaster or bankruptcy.

We may rely, secondly, on voluntary action by individual employers, and by officers, directors, and stockholders of corporations, action based upon accurate and comprehensive surveys, intimate personal acquaintance with workingmen and their families. I am firmly of the belief that the normal man of wealth and power in industry does not desire to exploit or oppress; to destroy health or morals and subject children or youth to undue risks or certain injury; to take dirty profits either from customers or from employees; and that increasing knowledge will mean increasing prolongation of life by the voluntary improvement of industrial conditions.

We may rely, last, on public opinion, working when necessary, but not exclusively, through legislation and the courts. Trade unions, voluntary reforms in industry, the pressure of public opinion and education, are the means by which we are to secure that normal life for working men and women and for their families at home which is the only remedy of premature old age.

OLD AGE

Unmistakable old age, so long denied, comes at last to its own: not in ugly, tragic mask, but gentle; not hastening or loitering. With a touch of humor, of philosophy, with a sense of life's irony and a knowledge of its loving kindness, old age comes at the appointed time. The autumn leaves upon the branches are not more beautiful than the spirit of the old who have lived. The leaves have felt upon their faces storms and sunshine, have fulfilled their end in nature, and when the unseen spirit of a natural end of life puts its finger upon them, they yield a consummation in color, in beauty, in acquiescence, not less striking than the response of swelling veins and bursting vernal energy in the early life of the year. So old age has its own beauty, its own appropriate medium of expression, its acquiescence in a normal order of the universe for which the seventy or the eighty years are in one sense but a long approach.

Clearly as adolescence differs from infancy, so clearly is old age differentiated from the maturity of middle life. Physiological changes take place. Habits become increasingly a reliance in preference to independent conscious judgments. The physical strength undoubtedly wanes, and an increased liability to degenerative diseases compels recognition. Vision becomes dim or reasserts its vigor. Memory plays strange tricks. Appetite demands

a change of diet and passion relaxes its hold. Interests shift and contract, and though the phrases of regret at loss of active participation in life's affairs may remain upon the lips, we know that they may easily express less poignant emotions than would similar expressions in some temporary breakdown in earlier years.

These changes may not be pathological at all, like those of premature old age, but natural and welcome. To die in harness, cut off suddenly in the fullness of powers, may be a source of personal satisfaction, but it is egregious selfishness. It is a mediæval, not a modern, ideal. It represents the ambition of a warrior seeking glory in action, not the sober and quiet ambition of the normal citizen of a modern state, who is willing to play the part to the end and to keep the useful work of his community moving forward without break of continuity, with the social welfare as its aim. Such smooth perfection of social organization implies a period of easy relaxation at the end, as of preparation in the earlier part of life, a period with its own problems, its own burdens, its own contributions to social well-being.

DEPENDENCE IN OLD AGE

The first and most obvious social problem connected with old age is that of support.

Old age dependence ranks in importance with the care of the sick and of widows with dependent

children, far exceeding the problem of orphanage or unemployment. In 1910 there were in the United States just under four million persons who were over sixty-five years of age. Mr. Lee W. Squier, who has studied old age dependence sympathetically, estimates that more than a quarter of these were in want and supported by charity, public or private. Whether it is a million and a quarter, as Mr. Squier thinks,* or two million and a half, as Mr. Berger says in a speech in Congress,—though he is speaking of those over sixty, and includes all who have an income of less than ten dollars a week, —or only the half million or so that could probably be counted from statistical sources as in institutions or receiving partial support at home, the number of the aged who require support presents a problem serious enough to justify far more attention than it has received.

Our main reliance in this country has been on—(1) The continued earning power of the aged themselves; (2) savings for old age; (3) support by grown children or other relatives; (4) United States pensions and state pensions to Confederate

* The principal item in Mr. Squier's table, about three-quarters of a million, consists of United States pensioners. A census report, published since his book appeared, shows that his estimate of the number of persons over sixty-five years of age in almshouses, the next item numerically in his list, was much too high. Instead of ninety-five thousand over sixty-five, there were only forty-six thousand over sixty. Mr. Squier's estimate was based on the number reported as in almshouses in Massachusetts.

veterans; (5) private homes for aged, partly maintained by admission fees of their inmates; (6) public almshouses; (7) outdoor relief, and (8) private allowances through churches or charitable agencies, for which the funds may be supplied in part by relatives, former employers, or friends of the beneficiary. There are, of course, some dependent poor in workhouses and jails as vagrants, although some other condition than age and infirmity is assumed to be present when the aged find their only refuge in correctional institutions. There are, no doubt, some in hospitals and asylums for the insane whose senility is not of such a character as to require institutional care except for their lack of any other means of support.

The federal and state pensions, in theory merely a deferred recognition of services performed now half a century ago, have become in fact the main national provision for old age. Judged from that point of view, it is not an equitable provision. The federal pensions have been distributed mainly in the northern states, where the need for old-age support is certainly not greatest. Their cost has been enormous. They have had no relation to proved need, to thrift or merit. As an old-age provision they have violated every known canon of actuarial, ethical, and social policy. They are a cost of the Civil War, and in that light alone could they be defended as devised and administered. And yet the federal and state pensions are not

without some substantial justification in their social results. If the government had not expended the four and a half billion dollars which it has spent in pensions, the problem of old-age dependence would have been far more pressing than it has been. Much of that money has been wasted, some of it has been demoralizing, but it has been one means of support, perhaps on the whole the best means that we have had after savings and maintenance by relatives.

One minor reason for the long-continued poverty of southern states, as compared with the greater economic prosperity of the North, has doubtless been the drain on its resources to care for its aged white and colored dependents. The pension fund, drawn from general taxation, has been expended in the North. Another fund, not so enormous but still large in the aggregate, has then had to be raised for the support of the relatively larger and poorer number who served the lost cause or were impoverished by the war. The result has been a violent national maladjustment, which cannot be without its effect on physical well-being and economic prosperity.

Whatever the sources of their support, the aged may be cared for either in their own or their children's homes, or in some kind of institution.

Personal thrift and the filial loyalty of children may take either of these forms. A chair by the family fireside, at the family board, and in the

family councils, would no doubt be the preference of the majority when conditions are at all favorable. The argument in favor of such normal mingling with kindred is not the same as that for home life of children, and perhaps it is not so universally convincing. Perhaps for some there is a certain attraction in the independence of an institution where board is paid or a life fee. Independence may seem an odd term for any kind of institutional life, where there must be a fixed routine, definite limitations on liberty of movement and action; yet just as a hotel is a place of greater freedom in a sense for the guest than the most hospitable home, so within the cadaver of its regulations an institution may, after all, offer a comparatively untrammeled and untroubled haven to a storm-tossed soul.

As between maintaining, if possible, a separate domestic establishment and going to live with sons and daughters-in-law, or daughters and sons-in-law, many would justly prefer the former. As between being boarded out in the family of a stranger and accommodation in a private or church institution, many would prefer the latter. But all four plans, and many variations upon them, are legitimate for those respectively who prefer them. Any of them is better than neglect, and some one or a combination of them is a possible means of caring for a very large proportion of those who are past work. We put savings and care by grown

sons and daughters, therefore, as not only a natural, but a desirable provision for old age.

THRIFT

Thrift is an old-fashioned but not an obsolete virtue. Children should not support able-bodied young parents, but able-bodied young people may very properly support their parents or grandparents in old age. Personal responsibility for one's own well-being is not the most popular doctrine in these days, but it is sound doctrine, nevertheless. We who preach constantly social responsibility are in danger of carrying it to an extreme, just as the doctrine of an overruling providence in supreme control of the universe has sometimes been used to undermine a healthy feeling of personal responsibility for that particular fraction of it which has been entrusted to us.

When it is held that wages and salaries in America do not permit saving, or do so only at the expense of immediate welfare, we may cite the analogous instance of the lawyer's demonstration to a client that they could not put him in jail for what he had done. Unfortunately for the argument, and for the client, he was in jail at the time. So the fact is that American wage-earners and small tradesmen and clerks and farmers do save, and what many actually do, more could do, without incurring the risk of slighting immediate needs of the family. Saving in practice goes along with a

higher, rather than a lower, standard of current expenditure.

Thrift has received a bad name preparatory to the hanging, but thrift is not the mean, unsocial, antiquated relic of primitive society that it has been so often of late represented to be. Thrift is little else than strength of character, a sober measuring of future against immediate needs. It is a generous and manly trait, a certain soundness at the core resisting the rottenness of civilization and the dry-rot of stupidity. Thrift should be taught in the public schools, as the Massachusetts Commission on Old Age Pensions recommends. It should be encouraged in the home. Facilities for its exercise should be multiplied. The savings which are its result should be jealously safeguarded, and it should have its natural reward.

FAMILY RESPONSIBILITY

Family solidarity also is an ideal for which future ages will have need, as past ages have needed it. Covert and indirect assaults on the family are a part of much revolutionary propaganda, but increasingly in this country economic revolution is trying to free itself from old-world association with such attacks. There is certainly no reason why conservative advocates of social insurance, whether for sickness, unemployment, or old age, should have any sympathy for sneers against the fullest development of family responsibility and solidarity.

Social insurance rests upon the family in its integrity. Non-contributory old-age pensions, widows' pensions, and all other forms of public poor relief, by the very terms used to describe them, such as "the endowment of old age," "the endowment of motherhood," "the right to relief," all involve another and opposing principle. The one principle is that, given a fair and reasonable opportunity, the individual is to be held responsible for taking advantage of it; that ordinary mishaps and accident under normal conditions are to be met by savings and the helping hand of relatives, neighbors, and friends; that even sickness, unemployment, and old age are personal and family matters, leading to public dependence only under exceptional and unforeseeable circumstances. The other principle is that society and not the individual is responsible for all these misfortunes and burdens; that each condition of natural dependence, brief or prolonged, such as maternity, illness, unemployment, invalidity, old age, and poverty in all its manifestations, is to be met by the state, i. e. by public funds raised by taxation. The individual need give himself no concern: his children will be supported from birth, his own old age maintained in comfort, whatever his extravagances, his idlenesses, or his eccentricities.

Pensions of all kinds, except retiring allowances from funds provided in the employment in which the worker has been engaged, represent the latter

of these views. Social insurance, except in its government subsidies, which are a compromise concession, represents the former. The sturdiest advocates of personal responsibility and family solidarity may, therefore, work zealously for sickness insurance, for workmen's compensation, for unemployment insurance, for compulsory life insurance and insurance for old age, without inconsistency. What saves social insurance from the curse of demoralizing paternalism is that it encourages thrift and rewards it; that the administration may be democratic rather than bureaucratic; that it is a rational distribution of risks on a sound actuarial basis rather than the handing out of unearned gratuities, gathered from grudging taxpayers, manipulated for political advantage, and defended on dishonest and fallacious grounds. That is as accurate a description as I know how to give of pensions and public poor relief as ordinarily administered.

In so far, therefore, as old age requires support *

* For the most thorough discussion of the whole subject, aside from Mr. Squier's book on old age dependency, to which reference has been made, and the report of the Massachusetts Commission of 1910, attention is invited to the admirable treatise on Social Insurance by Dr. I. M. Rubinow, in which there are several chapters on the old man's problem. Dr. Rubinow looks upon pensions as half-way steps and perhaps necessary supplements to social insurance, and at least a public recognition of the need. To me they seem, on the contrary, to be a vicious and unsatisfactory makeshift, postponing rather than bringing nearer the substantial and consistent system of social insurance which we both desire.

supplementary to savings and the natural contributions of sons and daughters, it may advantageously come not from pensions or other poor relief, but from a well-devised system of social insurance, requiring contributions from insured and employers, and administered, or its administration supervised and guaranteed, by the state.

PROLONGATION OF OLD AGE

The prolongation of life as a whole follows naturally the prolongation of childhood and of the working period of life, but there are special influences at work independently to the same end. Science has been baffled by an increase in the diseases of later life, but is diligently employing its natural instruments of research and experimentation in a more vigorous attack upon those diseases. Changes in diet and in habits of recreation conspire with medical research to extend that period which lies beyond the end of work. But again, as in the expansion of earlier periods, it is not mere extension that is significant. The emptying of old age of its conquerable diseases, its disabling infirmities, its sufferings and anxieties and fears, will be a more notable benefaction than the mere lengthening of years. If, by reason of strength, not by reason of drugs or extraordinary watchfulness, the ten years are added to real living, the race will be ten years ahead. But if there is strength and a time to put it forth, there will be need of giving thought to

the manner of its exercise. Occupations suitable to retired age are a social problem, like Froebel's gifts or occupations in the kindergarten. Their purpose, to be sure, is different. Not instruction, but the exercise of long-matured instincts; not growth and work and the making of things, but mellow expansion, reminiscence and reflection, the play of mental imagery, and the testing of things, are the typical and characteristic occupations of the leisure of the evening of life.

Cicero disposed for all time of the idea that old age is miserable. In his systematic brief* he sets forth the reasons for thinking that it may be so:

(1) It calls us away from the transaction of affairs.
(2) It renders the body more feeble.
(3) It deprives us of almost all pleasures.
(4) It is not very far from death.

Indignantly denying the first charge, he says that the old, to be sure, do not engage in the occupations of youth, but in other and better things. For himself he prefers to spend his old age on a farm, for where can age warm itself better in the sunshine or by the fire, or be more refreshed by shady nooks and cool baths? Nothing, he thinks, can be richer in utility or more attractive in appearance than a well-tilled field; and certainly age is no hindrance to these pleasures, but, on the contrary, invites and urges to their enjoyment.

* De Senectute.

On the second point, Cicero replies that the old man no more feels the lack of the strength of a young man than when a young man he felt the want of the strength of a bull or an elephant. What a man has that he ought to use.

We do not follow him so readily on the third point, when in his stoic philosophy he counts it the highest praise to old age that it has no great desire for any pleasures. It lacks banquets, he says, and piled-up boards and fast-coming goblets; it is, therefore, also free from drunkenness and indigestion and sleeplessness. Aside from the pleasures of agriculture, in which congenial vocation Cicero especially cites the manuring of the fields as one of the most thoroughly enjoyable features, which he blames Hesiod for not having valued highly enough, he finds various other pleasant occupations to mitigate the tedium of a life without drunkenness, indigestion, and sleeplessness. Among them he gives first place to conversation in clubs and other like amusements.

As to the charge that old age is not far from death, Cicero has, of course, many very interesting observations. One of his rejoinders, that death is even more common in youth, will not bear statistical analysis. But that death in youth is a sort of violence, while death in old age is spontaneous, without force, natural, is a forecast of Metchnikoff's demonstration that all infectious disease is

violent death as truly as if by an external cause. Young men, says Cicero, seem to me to die just as when the violence of flame is extinguished by a flood of water; whereas old men die as the exhausted fire goes out. As fruits when they are green are plucked by force from the trees, but when ripe and mellow drop off, so violence takes away their lives from youths, but maturity from old men, a state which to me indeed is so delightful that as I approach death I seem, as it were, to be getting sight of land, and at length after a long voyage to be just coming into harbor.

One saying more I must quote from *De Senectute*, for it might have served for our text:

> In my whole discourse remember that I am praising that old age which is established on the foundations of youth. Neither gray hairs nor wrinkles can suddenly catch respect, but the former part of life honorably spent reaps the fruits of authority at the close.

Cicero's philosophy on this subject may be our philosophy in part, but his religion is not our religion, and his economics are not our economics. A Christian poet, interpreting a Jewish scholar of the middle ages, retains this same philosophy of the normal life of man, while giving it a new aspect—the religious faith of modern life. Recall some fragments of Browning's version of Rabbi Ben Ezra's thoughts on old age and death:

Grow old along with me!
The best is yet to be,
The last of life, for which the first was made:
Our times are in His hand
Who saith, "A whole I planned,
Youth shows but half; trust God: see all, nor be afraid!"

* * * * *

As it was better, youth
Should strive, through acts uncouth,
Toward making, than repose on aught found made!
So, better, age, exempt
From strife, should know, than tempt
Further. Thou waitedst age: wait death nor be afraid!

* * * * *

Not on the vulgar mass
Called "work," must sentence pass,
Things done, that took the eye and had the price;
O'er which, from level stand,
The low world laid its hand,
Found straightway to its mind, could value in a trice:

But all the world's coarse thumb
And finger failed to plumb,
So passed in making up the main account;
All instincts immature,
All purposes unsure,
That weighed not as his work, yet swelled the man's amount;

Thoughts hardly to be packed
Into a narrow act,
Fancies that broke through language and escaped;
All I could never be,
All men ignored in me,
This I was worth to God, whose wheel the pitcher shaped.

This reflection that we are to be valued by our ideals and not by our acts is one which is peculiarly appropriate to old age, taking rest for a moment ere the valiant soul be gone once more on an adventure brave and true; and there we might leave

the matter as the end of our attempt to follow through the normal life of man. But economist and pragmatist would have cause for complaint if we were to do so.

Socially, acts are worth, not what the doer hopes, but what difference his actions make in the lives of men. We are concerned, as we agreed at the beginning, in a sober, matter-of-fact consideration of the serious social problems of life's succeeding stages, and our last word therefore must be not of the triumph of normal life over death in the man who has achieved and won even his last great fight, but a word of sober, unimpassioned, matter-of-fact remembrance: of the babies that die for want of nourishment and enlightened care; of the children who are not leading normal lives in that they are handicapped by tainted blood, by the drunkenness and sensuality, or by the lack of thrift and efficiency, of their elders; of the older youth whose amusements are craps and petty larceny, unguarded dance halls, and uncensored "movies," or who have little leisure even for vicious amusements, because they are worked and overworked until they are robbed of their youth; of the adult men and women who have missed the normal way, through their fault or ours, through defective personality or lack of opportunity, through bad industrial relations leading possibly to a disastrous conflict or to disastrous litigation, through the long persistent consequences of slavery, or the quick-

coming consequences of war, through dislocations in industry or delayed social adjustment; of the childless and friendless old men and women, battered wrecks of life, surviving through all the years of their failures, or it may be pushed down tragicwise at the end after having known prosperity and a measure of success and usefulness.

If we accept the faith that we build the social structure, we must build it for them, the least of these our brethren, or it will never stand.

> Have ye founded your thrones and altars, then,
> On the bodies and souls of living men?
> And think ye that building shall endure,
> Which shelters the noble and crushes the poor?
>
> ———
>
> God has plans man must not spoil,
> Some were made to starve and toil,
> Some to share the wine and oil,
> We are told:
> Devil's theories are these,
> Stifling hope and love and peace,
> Framed your hideous lusts to please,
> Hunger and cold.

So said Lowell in two of his short poems seventy years ago, and so may we say. We need accept no scheme for exploiting the weaknesses and disabilities of some that others may ripen into luxury and privilege. Those are devil's theories wherever they are spoken.

Neither superman nor subman can lead the social life; for the one is an exploiter, and it is a devil's theory that would enthrone him, while the other is a constant temptation to the exploiting and tyran-

nical beast that slumbers ever in the breast of every ordinary man, to be aroused by superior position or special privilege or luck. The strong man, socialized, has cast out the beast, has felt the pleasure of helping men and learned how to do it. He does not despise his fellows, but is their fellow in spirit, in privileges, in aspirations, in a common lot. The Father of men, the Son of Man, the brooding spirit of mankind, has need for strong men among the sons of men to bear their burdens and to lighten them, to build more justly and firmly the structure of our common lives.

APPENDIX

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

The following questions were prepared for a class held in Baltimore in connection with the lecture course. They may be suggestive for local study of the social conditions and social provisions essential to securing a normal life in any community.

I. INFANCY

1. a. How many feeble-minded persons are there in your community?
   b. How many of them are in institutions?
   c. How are the others taken care of?

2. What percentage of the births are registered?

3. a. Is the infant mortality rate increasing or decreasing?
   b. How many deaths under one year of age have there been, year by year, in the last ten years, among white babies and among Negroes?
   c. What were the principal causes of infant deaths in the last calendar year?

4. How many illegitimate births were there last year among whites and among Negroes?

5. a. What proportion of the married women work for wages?
   b. What occupations are they in?
   c. Which of these occupations, if any, are probably injurious to the women or to their babies?

6. a. What are the "reportable" diseases?
   b. How many cases of each were reported last year?
   c. What provision is there for the free treatment of these diseases in hospitals and in dispensaries?

7. What organizations definitely provide pre-natal instruction? How many mothers were supervised by them last year?
8. On what conditions does a midwife secure a license?
9. How is the city milk supply supervised?
10. How many day nurseries accept young babies?

II. CHILDHOOD

1. a. What does "society" (i. e. the state or local government, or voluntary organizations) do for the welfare of the child from two to ten years of age?
   b. What difference is there, if any, between the opportunities provided for the Negro child, the child of immigrant parents, and the native white child of native parents?
2. a. What salaries do teachers in the elementary grades in the public schools receive?
   b. Is the compensation sufficient to attract competent teachers and to retain them?
3. What are the most important things for the public schools to do *next*, in the interest of young children?
4. What are the favorite forms of recreation among the children?
5. To what extent are the recommendations of the White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children (1909) in force in your community?

III. YOUTH

1. What are the popular forms of recreation among boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty?
2. Which of these are wholesome and which have undesirable features?
3. What proportion of the boys and girls of fourteen and fifteen attend school?
4. How many of them are at work, instead of in school? What do they do?

5. How many children under fourteen work for wages? Why are there any? At what occupations do they work?

6. What facilities are there for assisting children to find suitable work on leaving school?

7. What additional facilities should be provided?

8. What desirable occupations are open to boys and girls of sixteen or seventeen?

9. Are there any conditions in the community which tend to produce juvenile delinquency?

10. At what age does "youth" begin? When does it end?

IV. MATURITY: WORK

1. Make a list of the various official "registrations" or enumerations made in the community by federal, city, county, or state authorities, giving for each one:
   a. Its purpose;
   b. At what intervals or on what occasions it is made;
   c. By whom it is made and what methods are used;
   d. Its scope: i. e. persons affected and information secured.

2. Is there any existing branch of the city government which could easily and naturally undertake the responsibility for a permanent registration of the entire population?

3. Draw up a plan for installing it and for keeping it up.

4. What are the arguments against such a registration?

5. What are the arguments for it?

V. MATURITY: HOME

1. Describe, as concretely and as much in detail as possible, the elements which compose the minimum "standard of living" in your community at the present time.

2. a. Make a list of all the influences you can think of—legislation, administrative policies, private association, philanthropic effort, or unconscious forces—which are operating to raise this standard of living.

b. What influences, on the other hand, are operating to lower it?

3. How many arrests were made last year for drunkenness? What treatment followed the arrests?

4. How many men 25 to 45 years of age died last year? How many women?

5. What were the diseases which caused these deaths, in order of their numerical importance?

VI. LATE MATURITY AND OLD AGE

1. Make a list of the five leading representatives of each important occupation in your community, with the approximate age of each.

2. a. In which occupations does an employee become "too old" at forty?
   b. What is the explanation in each case?

3. What influences are at work to lengthen the working life?

4. a. How many aged dependents are there in your community?
   b. How are they cared for?
   c. Which method seems to be the most satisfactory?

5. What evidences can you find that thrift is (a) increasing or (b) decreasing in the community?

6. What influences in the community are favorable to family solidarity? What influences, on the contrary, are actively unfavorable?

7. Make a list of the gainful occupations in the community which are open to persons over fifty years of age?

8. a. What are the favorite forms of recreation among old persons?
   b. Is there any need of community interest in this question?

9. Which of the diseases of old age are the most serious from a social point of view?

10. Prepare a brief in support of the thesis that a man's life may be judged by the progress made towards assuring a normal life for every citizen of the community in which he has lived.

INDEX